JORDAN's

Parliamentary Journal,

FOR THE YEAR MDCCXCIII.

BEING

AN ACCURATE AND IMPARTIAL

HISTORY

MANAGE OF THE

DEBATES AND PROCEEDINGS

OF

BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT,

From the Opening of the Session on the Thirteenth Day of December, 1792:

INCLUDING

ALL MOTIONS, RESOLUTIONS, PROTESTS, &c.
AND PAPERS OF EVERY KIND.

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MDCCXCII.

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THE sudden and extraordinary manner of calling Parliament, the critical situation of these kingdoms and of all Europe, the rapid and unexampled progress of the French armies, the general agitation that seems to pervade the human mind amongst all ranks of people, form a criss that is interesting and alarming, and promises a continuation of the most important events.

In such a moment the attention of all mankind will be directed to the Debates and Proceedings of the British Parliament. The judgment not only of this country, but the sentiments and measures of other countries, will be formed and regulated by the conduct of the British Senate. A correct and an early knowledge of these proceedings, is, therefore, at this moment, more peculiarly important than at any former period whatever. To furnish this information, from the best sources and authorities, is the design of this publication. And in order that it may be communicated to the public, in as quick a succession as

the necessary regard to accuracy will permit, we propose to publish our *Parliamentary Journal* Weekly; and at the easy price of Six-pence each number, that the purchase may be within the ability of almost every person.

An impartial parrative of the Debates and Proceedings of both Houses of Parliament is at all times useful and proper. It is full of information on every subject. To our youth it is the best and noblest instructor. The lawyer, the merchant, the manufacturer, the trader, will there fee the constitution, the interests, the policy, of our country, described by men of the first talents, erudition, and character. In the perusal of fuch a work we obtain, in a fhort time, and at an eafy expence, the refult of the profoundest labours, reasoning, and reflection; we discover the designs of men, and the views of parties; we become habituated to a correct phraseology, and to a general knowledge of the various principles and practices of government. If these advantages occur at all times from such a work, how much more necessary are such advantages at this time! when every person in these kingdoms (be his fituation in life high or low) is become deeply interested in those deliberations and measures, which are to decide upon his fate, upon his interests, and perhaps upon his personal security.

We beg leave to affure the public, that our work shall be conducted with the strictest impartiality, diligence, and sidelity.

INTRODUCTION.

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really take the property of the property of THE Revolution of France has agitated the minds of every Court in Europe; and of none more than that of England. When the French arms had made a conquest of Antwerp, in the month of November, 1792, the Executive Council of the Republic of France ordered the general officers of their armies to take all fuch measures, and to employ all fuch methods, as are, or shall be, in their power, to restore the liberty and freedom of navigation on the rivers Scheldt and Meuse. In the early part of the last century, Antwerp was the emporium of commerce; but by the interruption of the navigation of these rivers (by veffels laden with stones being funk in them) the commerce of Antwerp was totally ruined, and Amsterdam rose upon the ruins of Antwerp. The French now fay, that the glory of their Republic requires, that to whatever places the protection of their arms extend, liberty shall be there established. As the opening of the Scheldt may probably prove as fatal to Amsterdam, as the closing of it had been to Antwerp, the above orders to the French generals have made a deep impression on the Court of the Prince of Orange; and he has folicited the affiftance of Great Britain, to prevent the French carrying their defign into execution. Time only can discover, whether the Court of England will, or will not, make war upon France, at the request of the Prince

of Orange. It must be observed, that in none of the treaties between this country and the States General, is there the least mention of our engaging to prevent, or promising any assistance to prevent, the opening of the Scheldt. On the contrary, the best commercial opinions of this country are, That the opening of the Scheldt will promote the circulation of all the British manufactures. By the free navigation of the Scheldt, Meuse, and of other rivers, as well as canals, British goods will have an easy conveyance throughout Germany, and their unrivalled excellence will secure to them a preference in every market; consequently a new and great vein of trade may become

open in favour of Great Britain and Ireland.

But this state of the matter, however true, is only the fecret, not the oftenfible cause, given for suddenly calling the British Parliament. The ministry affected to believe, that the example of the French revolution, which had abolished royalty, all undeferving penfions, finecure places, and enormous falaries, in France, had began to operate on the minds of the people of Great Britain; who, they faid, were concerting measures tending to accomplish a similar revolution in England. What degree of truth there is in these aftertions, or whether there is any, is not yet known; but apparently, at least, every body in England seems to be very quiet. Under the apprehension of danger, no matter whether real or affected, the ministry advised his Majesty to order, by his proclamation, several corps of the militia to be embodied; and upon the authority of this measure, they further advised his Majesty to iffue his proclamation for calling the Parliament immediately. These Proclamations were as follows:



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A PROCLAMATION.

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WHEREAS by an act, passed in the twenty-fixth year of Our reign, intituled, "An Act for amending and reducing into " one Act of Parliament the Laws relating to the Militia in "that part of Great Britain called England," it is enacted, That it shall be lawful for Us, in the cases and in manner therein mentioned, the occasion being first declared in Council and notified by Proclamation, if no Parliament shall be then fitting, to order and direct the drawing out and embodying of Our Militia Forces, or any part thereof. And whereas We have received information, that in breach of the laws, and notwith-ftanding Our Royal Proclamation of the twenty-first day of May last, the utmost industry is still employed by evil disposed persons within this kingdom, acting in concert with persons in foreign parts, with a view to subvert the laws and established conftitution of this realm, and to destroy all order and government therein; and that a spirit of tumult and disorder, thereby excited, has lately shewn itself in acts of riot and insurrection.

And whereas, under the present circumstances, it is more particularly necessary, that for the immediate suppression of such attempts, some addition should be made, as the exigency of the case may require, to the force which may be in readiness to act for the support of the civil magistrate; We therefore, being determined to exert the powers veited in Us by law for the protection of the persons, liberties and properties of Our faithful subjects, and fully relying on their zeal and attachment to Our person and government, and to the happy constitution established in these kingdoms, have thought fit to declare in Out Council, Our royal intention, for the causes and on the occafion aforefaid, to draw out and embody fuch part of Our Militia Forces as may more immediately enable Us to provide for the faid important objects. And We do hereby, in pursuance of the faid recited act, notify to all Our loving subjects Our faid intention, and the causes and occasion thereof.

Given at Our Court at Windfor, the first day of December, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, and in the thirty-third Year of Our reign. ewollo

GOD Save the KING.

The regiments of militia ordered to be embodied were, Cumberland, Durham, Effex, Kent, Lincoln, Norfolk, Norththumberland, Suffolk, Westmoreland, North and East Ridings of York; to which were added a few days after, those of Berks, Bucks, Cornwall, Devon, Dorfet, Herts, Surry, Hants, Suffex.]

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BY THE KING.

A PROCLAMATION.

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS by an act passed in the twenty-fixth year of Our reign, intituled, "An act for amending and reducing " into one Act of Parliament the Laws relating to the Militia in that part of Great Britain called England," it is enacted that whenever We shall cause the militia to be drawn out and embodied, on the occasions and in the manner therein mentioned, if the Parliament shall then be separated by such adjournment or prorogation as will not expire within fourteen days; We may and shall iffue Our Proclamation for the meeting of the Parliament within fourteen days; and the Parliament shall accordingly meet and fit upon fuch day as shall be appointed by fuch Proclamation, and continue to fit and act in like manner, to all intents and purposes, as if it had stood adjourned or prorogued to the same day: And whereas We have thought fit, in purfuance of the faid act, this day to declare in Our Council, certain causes and occasions moving Us to order and direct, that such part of Our Militia Forces, as may more immediately enable Us to provide for the important objects therein mentioned, should be drawn out and embodied: And whereas, in pursuance of the faid recited act, We have thought fit on this day to iffue Our Royal Proclamation, notifying the causes and occasions so declared in council as aforefaid: And whereas Our Parliament now stands prorogued to Thursday the third day of January next; We therefore, by the advice of our Privy Council, do hereby publish and declare Our Royal Will and Pleasure, that Our said Parliament shall, on Thursday the thirteenth day of this instant December, be held for the dispatch of divers weighty and important affairs. And the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses, and the Commissioners for Shires and Burghs of the House of Commons, are hereby required to give attendance at Westminster on the said thirteenth day of December.

Given at Our Court at Windsor, the first day of December, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, and in the thirty-third year of Our reign.

GOD Save the KING.

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PARLIAMENTARY JOURNAL,

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On Thursday the 13th Day of Dec. 1792, both Houses of Parliament met at Westminster. His Majesty being seated on the Throne in the House of Lords, and the Commons attending at the Bar, he made the following Speech to them:

My Lords, and Gentlemer,

"HAVING judged it necessary to embody a part of the militia of this kingdom, I have, in pursuance of the provisions of the law, called you together within the time limited for that purpose, and it is, on every account, a great satisfaction to me to meet you in Parliament at this conjuncture.

"I should have been happy if I could have announced to you the secure and undisturbed continuance of all the blessings which my subjects have derived from a state of public tranquillity; but events have recently occurred, which require our united vigilance and exertion, in order to preserve the advantages which we have hitherto enjoyed.

"The feditious practices, which had been in a great measure checled by your firm and explicit declaration of the last Session, and by the general concurrence of my people in the same sentiments, have of late been more openly renewed, and with increased activity. A spirit of tumult and disorder (the natural consequence

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consequence of such practices) has shewn itself in acts of riot and inturrection, which required the interpolition of a military force in support of the civil magistrate. The industry employed to excite discontent on various pretexts, and in different parts of the kingdom, has appeared to proceed from a defign to attempt the destruction of our happy constitution, and the subversion of all order and government; and this defign has evidently been purfued in connection and concert with perfons in foreign

countries.

"I have carefully observed a strict neutrality in the present war on the continent, and have uniformly abstained from any interference with respect to the internal affairs of France; but it is impossible for me to see, without the most serious uneafiness, the strong and increasing indications which have appeared there of an intention to excite diffurbances in other countries, to difregard the rights of neutral nations, and to pursue views of conquest and aggrandizement, as well as to adopt towards my allies the States General, (who have observed the same neutrality with myself,) measures which are neither conformable to the law of nations, nor to the politive Ripulations of existing treaties. Under all these circumstances, I have felt it my indifpenfable duty to have recourse to those means of prevention and internal defence with which I am intrusted by law; and I have also thought it right to take steps for making some augmentation of my naval and military force, being perfuaded that thefe exertions are necessary in the present state of affairs, and are best calculated both to maintain internal tranquillity, and to render a firm and temperate conduct effectual for preferving the bleffings of peace.

" Nothing will be neglected on my part that can contribute to that important object confiftently with the fecurity of my kingdoms, and with the faithful performance of engagements, which we are bound equally by interest and honour to fulfil.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" I have ordered the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you; and I have no doubt that you will be ready to make a due provision for the several branches of the public service.

"You will certainly join with me in lamenting any necessity for extraordinary expences, which may for a time prevent the application of additional fums beyond those which are already annually appropriated to the reduction of the public debt, or retard the relief which my subjects might derive from a further diminution of taxes: but I am confident you will feel that those great ends will ultimately be best promoted by such exertions as



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are necessary for our present and future safety and tranquillity; and it is a great consolation to me to reslect, that you will find ample resources for effectually desiraying the expence of vigorous preparations, from the excess of the actual revenue beyond the ordinary expenditure.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I have great pleasure in acquainting you, that the brilliant successes of the British arms in India, under the able conduct of the Marquis Cornwallis, have led to the termination of the war by an advantageous and honourable peace, the terms of which are peculiarly satisfactory to me from their tendency to secure the suture tranquillity of the British dominions in that part of the world.

"Your attention will now naturally be directed to such meafures for the future government of those valuable possessions, as shall appear, from experience and full consideration, most likely to provide for their internal prosperity, and to secure the important advantages which may be derived from thence to the commerce and revenue of this country.

"I am persuaded that it will be the object of your immediate confideration to adopt such measures as may be necessary, under the present circumstances, for enforcing obedience to the laws, and for repressing every attempt to disturb the peace and tran-

quillity of these kingdoms.

"You will be sensible how much depends on the result of your deliberations, and your uniform conduct is the best pledge that nothing will be wanting on your part which can contribute to the present security and permanent advantage of the

country.

"I retain a deep and unalterable fense of the repeated proofs which I have received of your cordial and affectionate attachment to me; and I place an entire reliance on the continuance of those sentiments, as well as on your firm determination to defend and maintain that constitution which has so long protected the liberties, and promoted the happiness of every class of my subjects.

"In endeavouring to preserve and to transmit to posterity the inestimable bressings which, under the favour of Providence, you have yourselves experienced, you may be assured of my zealous and cordial co-operation; and our joint efforts will, I doubt not, be rendered completely effectual, by the decided sup-

port of a free and loyal people."

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When the King and the Commons had retired, Lord Kenyon,

who fat as Speaker, read the Speech again; and then

The EARL of HARDWICKE role to make the usual motion for an address to the King. His lordship began with expreffing his hopes, that the unanimity which was so necessary at this time, would distinguish the proceedings of the House this day; and that the address which he meant to move, would meet with the hearty concurrence of all their lordships. The first and most striking part of the Speech they had just heard from the throne, was the calling out of the militia, and their lordships needed not to be put in mind, that the power of calling them out was vested in the Crown, whenever there were grounds for apprehension of any intended invasion by a foreign power, or internal infurrection in the kingdom. In fuch cases, it became the indispensable duty of ministers to advise that measure, and the law had wifely provided, that the Parliament should be immediately affembled; though if any weak or wicked adminiftration were to do fo from improper motives, they must be amenable to Parliament for their conduct. But he was confident it would appear in the present instance a very laudable conduct, and must be highly flattering to the people. Because, when it was visible to all, that wicked and ill-disposed persons were endea ouring to disturb the tranquillity of this country, and the happ ness of all classes of people in it, the militia were to be relied on, and, from a confidence in them, no apprehension of danger remained. On the neutrality which his Majesty had always observed with regard to France, he believed there could be but one opinion amongst their lordships. With regard to the revolution in that country, there might be different opinions; in his mind a revolution in the government of that country was natural and necessary, and he owned he had rejoiced in the idea, that a conflitution was afterwards likely to be formed, and one that, had it taken place, he doubted not, might ultimately have been beneficial to the interests of this country. He was decidedly of opinion, that we had no right to interfere with the internal affairs of that kingdom, and it had been prudently avoided; however he was forry to fay, that all his hopes of feeing the conflitution, w ich he expected would have been realized, had entirely vanished; had this been all, he still would agree, that we ought not to interfere; but the indication to purfue a system of conquest and aggrandizement, so properly mentioned in the Speech, was too obvious, from their having entered the dominions of Sardinia, taken Nice, and annexed Savoy as an eighty-fourth department to the territory of France. He stated, upon the authority of an officer's letter, the crimes which had taken place on the taking

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of Nice, and the manner in which they had been gloffed over by the National Convention, who faid, it was the palaces of kings, and not the property of the people, that they fought to destroy; but the contrary was the fact, and even the fearful inhabitants of cottages had not escaped their wickedness and inhumanity. He then adverted to the treaty which General Montefquiou had entered into with Geneva, agreeable to the wishes of both parties, and yet that general was blamed for what he had done, and the treaty was, contrary to all justice, broken. stated, as a difregard of the laws of nations, their entering Germany, and taking possession of Frankfort, and laying the inhabitants under a heavy contribution, which, though it was remitted, they had not purfued an honourable line of conduct to the inhabitants afterwards. The invasion of the Austrian Netherlands he confidered in the fame light, and the opening of the Scheldt, so particularly guaranteed by various treaties, particularly that of 1787, was a direct violation of the rights of neutral powers. With what consequences those daring acts might be attended, if not checked, it was not easy to guess; having the command of men, they might now possess a fleet, and proceed to Helvoestsluys, which being in their possession, would be a most dangerous and unwarrantable injury to the Dutch. was pointedly levere upon their conduct, and faid, that always the conduct of nations should be the same in every view as that of individuals, and as strictly guarded by justice and honour. Having touched upon almost every topic in his Majesty's speech, he had only the last, respecting the successes in India, to mention; and here he took occasion to pay very handsome compliments to the Marquis of Cornwallis, in which he was fure the House would concur most readily; after professing his attachment and determination to support the Constitution to his utmost, he concluded by moving that " An humble Address be presented, &c. &c." which was as usual an echo to the Speech.

LORD WALSINGHAM rose to second the motion, though he owned he had little to add, after the able manner in which his noble friend had treated the subject: he, however, followed him in the same strain of argument, and in the course of his speech spoke much in praise of the resolutions entered into

at Merchant Taylors' Hall.

The DUKE of NORFOLK expressed his loyalty and attachment to the constitution and government, but could not help offering a few words upon the subject, which he considered of very serious importance. If the House were to adopt, the only opinion that he could collect from the noble Earl's words, they would lay down a precedent that might lead to the most pernicious and unconstitutional effects. What he meant respected the calling

calling out the militia, which he conceived could not legally be done upon apprehensions of invasion, or unknown riots and insurrections within the kingdom. The act, which he held in his hand, went only thus far, that the militia might be called out in the event of either imminent danger, or a foreign invasion, or an actual infurrection in the country. Now, as the noble Earl had stated nothing of that kind, he thought himself justified in calling upon some one of his Majesty's ministers to declare, and he thought they were bound to satisfy the House on that point, what those apprehensions were, and where those dreadful riots and infurrections had taken place, as there were none of their Lordships yet made acquainted with the circumstances that had produced fuch general alarm over the country; and he must fay that the alarm occasioned by the last Proclamation was very great. The Speech stated a defire to preserve the peace and tranquillity of the country; but was war, and certainly there was every appearance of war at present, the way to preserve peace?-If ministers, however, had determined that there should be a war. they ought to declare that it is necessary, nay, inevitable; and in that event they will find the Parliament and the country ready to support them in it. If any other war was entered into. whatever pretext might be found for it, the country would be divided in opinion; and it did not require him to state to that House the ruinous calamities that attended every war, but particularly one on which there existed a division of mind in the country. With regard to the Scheldt, that was a matter not properly under discussion now, and therefore he would not enter upon it farther than as a cause of war; and here he could not help remarking, that it was rather strange to determine on going to war with any country for an interference with another, when we had no ambassador, or person of any description, to treat with that country, and remonstrate on the conduct which we were displeased at-such he would say was a desperate war, and not to be justified.

The MARQUIS TOWNSHEND spoke a short time in favour of the Address, and the measures of administration, and particularly the calling out of the militia, which he thought highly proper. He likewise considered the conduct of France towards their king, and their inordinate ambition and desire of conquest,

as unjustifiable and criminal.

The MARQUIS of LANSDOWNE faid, he had waited fome time in expectation that the noble Secretary of State, or fome other Minister, would have risen to answer the question to properly put to them by the noble Duke; on that point the House had a right to be satisfied. Parliament, he said, had been assembled in the a manner the most unexpected and unexampled that could be found

found in history for hundreds of years back, and, he must say, in fo questionable a shape, that he doubted if they had even legality on their fide. Having no information of the metives of Ministers, every one was left to his judgment, to guess what they might be. If they had apprehensions, if they knew of any riots, or infurrections, ought they not to make their conduct as clear as noon day? But this they scorned, for in their proceedings, there feemed to be no day at all, all was darkness and mysterious filence. Would it not become them to recur to former times, and profit a little by the wisdom and example of their ancestors, and those some of the best and greatest of their time; would they not find in the History of England, the conduct of Princes, Judges, and great Ministers, on occasions similar to what The noble Marquis here went into a long this was faid to be. chain of cases in different reigns, for some hundred years back, which he argued very forcibly, and contrasted very strongly with the present proceedings. He then faid, the provision of calling Parliament within forty days, was a wife and necessary regulation. For many reasons Members ought to know the matters that are to come before them, that their minds might be made up for the discussion, after collecting the fentiments of the people. and every information that they can obtain. If their Lordships would only look back into the pages of the English history, they would find that this rule was invariably attended to. Sir Francis Bacon maintained this conduct, in opposition to the favourite minister of Queen Elizabeth; and the haughty Duke of Buckingham, in the reign of James the First; nay, what was more, in those days it was the practice of the Lord Chancellor, as soon as he read the King's Speech, to acquaint their Lordships with the whole business that was intended to be submitted to their deliberation.

In his opinion the noble Duke (Norfolk) had asked a very proper question, for he could not help declaring, that when he had read that obscure clause, in an obscure modern act of parliament, he was greatly furprifed, and could fcarce perfuade himself that it was not drawn up by some special pleader in chancery, the fenfe was fo loaded and obscured by words.

Perhaps there was no necessity for him to repeat what he had ever maintained, his love for the conflitution, as it confifted of King, Lords, and Commons. He was, after the maturest deliberation, convinced, that the monarchical form of this country, was the best adapted to the genius and manners of the British nation; to compare our monarchical form of government with the governments that might be best adapted to other nations, was not, perhaps, the furest mode; other governments had fluctuated, but monarchy had ftill, and he was certain ever would, maintain its bunet

ground in this; the subjects, under that form, had rifen to great dignity and wealth; they had tasted the blessings of a limited monarchy, and he was fully persuaded, that the good sense of this nation was such, that they would not risk a certainty for

an uncertainty, however beautiful in theory.

This maxim was maintained by those who existed in the time of its suspension, for if their Lordships would read, if they had not already, Whitlock's Memoirs, they would find, in a conference which Oliver Cromwell held with his party, that the general opinion was, that the government of this country could not be maintained without monarchy; and Mr. St. John, in a second conference on the same subject, was decidedly of opinion, and adduced very weighty arguments in support of that opinion, that monarchy was effential to the government of this country. As these two conferences were very minutely reported by that accurate writer in his Memoirs, he was very much surprised that the focieties who had formed themselves for the defence of property, did not publish them instead of sermons; sermons certainly were very good, and he had read some with a great deal of pleasure.—Here his Lordship made some remarks on one of these societies, and wished that they had some lawyer among them. He thought that Parliament was the proper place to apply for the redress of grievances, as it was the duty, and he was certain it was the inclination of Parliament, to redress the grievances of the subject, if it could be proved that any existed. In such circumstances, the Legislature ought to act the part of a skilful physician; if a man conceived that he had a pain in his breaft, perhaps in the impetuofity of the pang he might cut it open, and find when it was too late that the cause originated elsewhere.

It was a good maxim in politics, that the bulk of mankind feel, but that it falls to the lot of the few to fee; that lot fell to

their Lordships, and he trusted they would attend to it.

As to libels, he thought a temperate conduct might be purfued; a great deal might be done by suavity, and sound argument. One of the most atrocious libels that ever appeared perhaps, was written against Queen Elizabeth, and Lord Burleigh; what was the conduct of that illustrious Princess and her minister on that occasion? Did they prosecute? No; but they ordered the great Bacon to sit down and write a consutation of it, which had the most happy effect.

His Lordship said he should just mention a circumstance in point: When he went to Oxford, at a time when the House of Brunswick was rendered uneasy by another family, he perfectly recollected that, when Doctor King delivered an oration in the theatre, at the word Redeat the whole theatre resounded with applause,

applause, and that as often as, it was mentioned, it was followed by the same thunder: in the same discourse he recollected another expression which was applied to one of the most amiable princes of this day, omnio timet practer Dec. which was followed by the same applause; yet that very Doctor King was intro-duced at court, and a gracious smile and a little attention had the happiest effect upon his principles.

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He could not help observing, that there was a manauvre played off at times in that House; he remembered, at a time when a party intended to have faid fomething on the subject of Mr. Wilkes with regard to the North Briton, that a very able judge, whose talents well entitled him to no small portion of fame and emolument, came down, and being feated on the woolfack, held a pamphlet in his hand, which a pious prelate, who flood at the head of literature (Warburton), pronounced to be a libel against God and man; the noble lord who stood at the head of opposition, turned very short, which he could very well do, and the rest found it impossible to assume the task they had proposed: they were entirely discomfitted from that fingle circumstance; a gracious smile, and a little attention, had a very good effect also on Mr. Wilkes; for his lordship did not hear that that gentleman had fince employed his pen on politics, nor yet on immorality, he hoped.

His Lordship made several observations on the treaties relative to the Scheldt, and deprecated the idea of a war, unless the principles on which it was to be grounded would stand the test

of wisdom and the soundest policy.

His Lordship said, that it was undoubtedly his private interest, as well as that of every Member of that House, to inspire tranquillity, subject to all the present abuses, bad as they were; but was it possible to be done, or becoming to attempt it? go, for example, to three millions of Irish Roman Catholics, and tell them, You complain with reason of your labouring under great hardships; but I am perfectly at ease, and enjoy luxury; do not then apply for redrefs, particularly at this time, because it may possibly endanger my repose; and any relief given to you may bring my estates into question, two of three hundred years hence, though it is an hundred to one against it? His Lordship said, he was above holding any such pitiful language. Again, could he say to the Protestant Dissenters, that they have no right to unite; though in truth he did not fee that they were disposed to do it; for which he commended them on two grounds: first, because, though they are irritated and provoked, they are not oppressed; and secondly, because there is a most unjust and unfortunate prejudice which has gone forth

against them, which it is best that they should leave to time to above, relying on the justice and generolity of Parliament and the public for a voluntary redress, which has hithern been so harshly denied to them? Or could be say to the man of property, good understanding, and decent morals, living in a country town, that he has no right to the vote which he is so justly entitled to in a free country, because he himself had his full share of legislative influence already? Could he say, lastly, to the middling or poor man, labouring, as they most notoriously do, under an excels of taxes, that they are not to inquire into the profusion of pensions, sinecure places, and plurality of offices, from which they have so thorough a claim to be relieved?

With regard to the Reform of Parliament, his Lordship said, that it was to be wished, on account of every body, as well as of the subject itself, that it should be discussed and re-discussed. That in regard to lessening the duration, his opinion was fully fettled; but with regard to the farther reform, though he had given it the utmost consideration in his power, he was not ashamed to say, that he stood in need of public discussion before he made up his judgment and that he was perfuaded others must fland in need of the fame. That if he could be convinced that it was prejudicial, he should never be afraid to avow a change of his opinion, as long as he had honest reasons to give for it: for that no diffionour lay in any change of opinion, but only in the honesty or dishonesty of the reasons affigned for that change. That with regard to all these points, if he were as much convinced of danger from them, as he was of their rectitude and utility, he would, if possible, still more wish them to be vented and discussed, that the public mind might be freed from its agitation; the only fure foundation for real union being in the entire public confidence in the Constitution, which could alone generate a due confidence in government, no tololor a

He greatly approved of the resolutions entered into at Merchant Taylors' Hall, and he conceived that he did not derogate from the wisdom of that House by saying that it was a model they ought to purfue; if the people were of opinion, that by a reform in parliament their grievances would be redreffed, let that House convince the people that it had the power and disposition to do it as effectually. But there were other affociations, whose resolutions he never could agree to, and wondered that any man poffessed of common understanding could put his name to them, if he took the trouble to read them over- Here he read, and commented in very fevere and pointed terms, upon the refolutions of the Crown at I Anchor affociation]. He knew not the perfons.

persons, but certainly there was not a lawyer amongst them, or if there was, his law and his logic, who drew up such resolutions, must be abominably bad, after reading the different Whereas's, &c. He said, that after searching every where, it was evident that the motive of administration was war, and had nothing to do in fact with infurrection, although Parliament was affembled by that manœuvre, and he must defire them to take

care how they plunged the country into a war.

LORD GRENVILLE began with defending the conduct of administration in calling forth the militia; he then gave a fhort account of the militia act, and the principles on wh was enacted, and contended that, if it was fairly construed according to the spirit and the intention, it would be found the executive government had neither more nor less than discharged their duty. In support of these affertions, he said he held in his hand not less than ten addresses, presented to the National Convention of France by the subjects of this country, and, if the House would for a short time suppress their indignation, he should read them a few extracts from these addresses, which his lordship did, making his observations on each as he went along; he also made several observations on the answer of the Prefident of the National Convention to those addresses, for the purpose of shewing, that notwithstanding his Majesty had declared his neutrality with regard to the interior transactions of France, yet the French had not observed the same rule of conduct with regard to this nation. The King of this country, in all transactions with foreign courts, was the representative of the people, but this prerogative was infringed by these addresses.

This led him to read a few passages out of a newspaper pub-lished by Condorcet, the whole of which put together, authorifed him to fay, that such a correspondence with a foreign power by the natives of this country, furnished just apprehensions of alarm, and this opinion was strengthened by a resolution of the National Convention, that they were ready to extend fraternity and affifiance to every nation that should be found willing to recover their liberty. His lordship insisted, that it peculiarly behaved this nation to maintain the faith of treaties; hitherto they had preserved that character inviolate, and he hoped they

would continue fo to do.

LORD STORMONT flated that minifless might have foreseen these events, and prepared for them by a short prorogation. He was not of a defponding disposition, but he could not help declaring that there was serious cause of alarm in that part of the country in which he was most interested; feditious pamphlets had been circulated with unceating industry, they neilling a line war & Part of a subsect of fonce had

had been fold for two-pence a-piece, which in fair trade would be a great loss to the vender: it was no difficult matter to difcern that this flowed from some secret hand, and he supposed the Right Hon. Secretary knew that hand. He knew Condorcet in his happier hours; and, as his name had been mentioned, he would read two paragraphs from a paper, of which he was the avowed editor. The first was addressed to the Dutch, whom he called Batavians, in which he faid, that true liberty would never be founded on the basis of reason, as long as the earth was foiled with kings; the next was, that the beams of republican

truth were pervading the breafts of Englishmen.

His Royal Highness The DUKE of CLARENCE began with affuring their lordships, that he totally and entirely coincided in the sentiments which had sallen from the Right Hon. Secretary (Lord Grenville); he had already in private made an offer of his fervice to his country, and he was glad of the opportunity of expressing the same sentiments in public. It was plain the French were directed by ambition and aggrandizement; they had already annexed the Duchy of Savoy to their dominions as the eighty-fourth department, and if they conquered Holland, he supposed it would be the eighty-fifth. As a seaman, he was proud to say, that the British navy was the pride of this country, and the envy of our enemies; but if the French leized on the Dutch navy, a superiority of force was a serious consideration: this was a matter that ought to be duly weighed independent of every other confideration.

LORD RAWDON made a very animated speech, disapproving of the conduct of ministers in evading to answer the simple question put to them by the noble Duke; argued strenuoully against a war, and said it was the cause of administration they were going to war for, and no other. He approved of the French Revolution as originally just, but detested their enormities and crimes committed latery. He then went warmly into the cause of the Roman Catholics in Ireland—thought their petition was just and politic, and that the interest of Borough-jobbers, like a night-mare upon their claim, always had pre-vented its fuccis.

EARL STANHOPE faid, that though he loved the British Constitution, he was not so great a high to it as to suppose it Conflitution, he was not lo great a pigot to it as to tappole it was calculated for the genius of America, or other countries. He was convinced that no nation or individual ought to interfere in the government of any other country. He heartily rejoiced in the retreat of the Duke of Brunfwick; and when noble lords talked of maffacres, they should turn to the duke of Brunfwick's manifestos, in which they would find, that he threatened to execute military law on half a million of people:

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this was to out Herod Herod, and to out Nero Nero. He deprecrated the idea of a war; peace at home, and peace ought to be the wish of every honest Englishman: executive government ought to endeavour to preserve peace and confidence at home this was only to be done by a readiness to remove all just cause of complaint; an unfuccessful war would have the contrary effect.

The MARQUIS of LANSDOWNE role to explain some paffages of his speech. The pretext for war was easy; Louis the XIVth made war on Holland for a medal which that Republic had cast; and Lord Clarendon stated, that this country had gone to war with the States General on this flight ground, that their language was harsh, and not fit for the polished lips of a gentleman. He faid that the executive government had . raifed alarms which were very detrimental. He was of opinion, that the faith of treaties ought to be maintained. His Lordship concluded with moving an Amendment, by leaving out two paragraphs of the Address.

EARL of CARLISLE expressed his hopes, that every pro-

per method would be taken to avoid a war.

LORD PORCHESTER approved of the conduct of ministers, but thought there was a mistake in the method of calling out the militia; he thought the whole regiments ought to have been called out, instead of a part.—The motion of amendment was loft without a division, and the original Address agreed to. b jerrale synd only Luanse south out and the worker of

This day the Lords presented their Address to the King at St. James's. (After which the House adjourned.) sent that opinions and and the

" Most Gracious Sovereign, with sol and appropriate the

WE, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament affembled, beg leave to return Your Majesty our humble and dutiful acknowledgments for Your Majesty's most gracious Speech from the Throne as the per line per limition that their exertions as north

Permit us to affure Your Majesty, that, under circumflances which require the united vigilance and exertion of all the branches of the Legislature, to preserve to Your Majesty's subjects the continuance of those advantages which they have hitherto enjoyed; it is a great satisfaction to us, that Your Majesty, by meeting us an Parliament at this conjuncture, has afforded us an opportunity of manifesting our loyalty to Your Majesty, and our zeal for the dearest interests of our country. It sull in a

"We have feen with the greatest concern that the feditions practices which were the objects of Your Majesty's late Proclamation,

mation, and which were so strongly condemned by the declaration of both Houses of Parliament, and by the general sentiments of the people, have of late been more openly renewed, and with increased activity. We deeply lament that spirit of tumult and diforder, the natural confequence of fuch practices, which has shewn itself in different acts of riot and insurrection, requiring the interpolition of a military force in support of the civil magistrate. We are sensible that the industry employed to excite discontent on various pretexts, and in different parts of the kingdom, has proceeded from a fettled defign to attempt the destruction of our happy constitution, and the subversion of all order and government; and we learn with the utmost indignation, that this defign has been purfued in connection and concert with persons in foreign countries.

"We highly applaud the wife and generous conduct adopted by Your Majesty, in observing a strict neutrality in the present war on the Continent, and in abstaining from any interference with respect to the internal affairs of France: but we beg leave to affure Your Majesty, that we fully participate in that serious uneafiness so justly felt by Your Majesty on account of the strong and increasing indications which have appeared in France of an intention to excite disturbances in other countries, to difregard the rights of neutral nations, and to purfue views of conquest and aggrandizement, as well as to adopt towards Your Majesty's Allies, the States General, who have observed the feme neutrality with Your Majesty, measures neither conformable to the law of nations, nor the politive Ripulations of ex-

isting treaties. Donasolo lites which the rice "We acknowledge with the deepest gratitude Your Majesty's paternal care for the fecurity and happiness of Your people, which has led Your Majesty, on the present occasion, to have recourse to those means of prevention and internal defence with which Your Majesty is intrusted by law; and also to augment Your Majesty's naval and military force; and we concur with Your Majesty in the persuasion that these exertions are necesfary in the prefent state of affairs, and are best calculated both to maintain internal tranquillity, and to render a firm and temperate conduct effectual for preferving the bleffings of peace; an object which, however important in itself, is no otherwise defirable than as it can be attained confiftently with the fecurity of these kingdoms, and with the faithful performance of engagements which we are bound equally by interest and honour

"We congratulate Your Majesty on the brilliant successes of the British arms in India, under the able conduct of the Marquis Cornwallis, and more especially on the termination of the section was murred by Alr. Role previous to any other buttache. Ds.

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war in that country by an advantageous and honourable peace; to the terms of which we look with peculiar fatisfaction, from their tendency to fecure the future tranquillity of the British dominions. We shall now apply our attention to the forming fuch arrangements for the future government of those valuable possessions, as experience and deliberation may recommend to us, with a view to the prosperity of that country, and to the advantages which it may afford to the British commerce and

" We beg leave to affure Your Majesty, that we feel it to be our bounden duty, and that it shall be the object of our most immediate confideration, to adopt all proper measures for enforcing obedience to the laws, and for repreffing every attempt to disturb the peace and tranquillity of this kingdom. We are not ignorant that on the refult of our deliberations at this moment. depend the present security and permanent prosperity of our country. We well know that we can in no manner better provide for these important and interesting objects, than by manifesting in all our conduct that affectionate attachment which is so justly due to Your Majesty from every one of Your subjects, and which is deeply impressed upon our hearts; and by directing all our counfels to the defence and maintenance of the Constitution, so dear to a people whose liberties it has long protected, and whose happiness it has essentially promoted. In endeavouring to preserve and transmit to our posterity these inestimable bleffings, we know from uniform experience that we may be affured of Your Majesty's co-operation and affishance; and we are confident that the united efforts of Your Majesty and your Parliament for this purpose, will be rendered completely effectual by the decided support of a free and loyal people."

HIS MAJESTY'S ANSWER.

"I thank you for this very loyal and dutiful Address. Your expressions of affectionate attachment to my person, and of zeal for the maintenance of the Constitution, are peculiarly acceptable to me at this conjuncture: And I am fatisfied that, whatever may be the course of future events, the spirit and loyalty, which you have manifested on this occasion, will be productive of the happiest consequences to my people."

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

of shortering driver and and also seemed by the performance

DECEMBER 13. Y with interpressed Weller

Mr. Pitt having during the recess of Parliament accepted the place of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, a writ for his reelection was moved by Mr. Rose previous to any other business.

Mr. IEKYLL next role, and faid he was forry that on this occasion he must depart from the usual order of proceeding in the House, and instead of waiting to hear his Majesty's Speech read, and a motion made for an Address in return for it, to call the attention of Parliament to a subject of great importance, as it involved no less a question than that of the legality of the subfequent acts of the fession. What he meant to submit to their confideration was a matter of privilege, and confequently ought to superfede every other business whatever. The House, he obferved, being then met under very extraordinary circumstances, the first question which must naturally suggest itself to every gentleman's mind was, " By what authority was it actually fitting?" According to the Lex et consuetudo Parliamenti, by which alone, till of late years, the meeting of Parliament was regulated, it could not be called together at an earlier day than that to which it had been last prorogued; and no prorogation could be for a shorter period than 40 days. The present meeting was clearly contrary to the law and usage of Parliament, and a reason ought to be affigned for this departure from them. In a book published by a learned gentleman, who had long filled with great ability an office at the table of that House (Mr. Hatsel the head clerk), it appeared that there was one precedent for such a departure, and that was in the reign of Charles II. when the Dutch failing up the Medway, burnt some of our ships at Chatham. At that time there was a recess of Parliament, which had been prorogued from July to the month of October. The measure of calling it together before the expiration of the prorogation was debated in council, where Lord Clarendon declared that it was illegal, and fuggested that the best way to proceed on the occasion would be to dissolve the Parliament, and call a new one, which could meet in a short time, as it was not then required by law that so long a period, as was at present necessary, should elapse between the teste and the return of the writs. Lord Clarendon, however, was over-ruled, and it was determined that the Parliament should be called pending the prorogation, and before the expiration of it. He prefumed it was not on the authority of this folitary precedent that ministers would rest the legality of the prefent meeting. They, no doubt, would plead the authority of statute for their departure from common law. There were two acts paffed in the present reign, which authorised the King to fummon by Proclamation a meeting of the Parliament at the expiration of fourteen days from the date of the same, notwithstanding any prorogation or adjournment for a longer period. One of these acts gave this authority to the crown to be exercised in case of actual invasion. The other, which was passed in the 26th of Geo. III. chap. 10, extended Hostion reasoners by Mr. Rote were oversy any other buttock

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it to cases of rebellion and insurrection. As no invasion had taken place, he prefumed that as ministers had in the King's Speech made mention of insurrections, it was on the latter statute that they meant to rest the defence of a measure which could be legal only in the specified cases, and in every other was contrary to the law and ulage of Parliament. He wished, therefore, that those who were best qualified to clear up what was obfcure and doubtful on this head, would point out where and when the infurrection had taken place, which alone could make the prefent a legal meeting of Parliament, and render its subsequent acts valid and binding upon the people. On the explanation which he should receive on this head, he said it would depend whether he should make a specific motion on the subject or not. If he should hear a satisfactory reason assigned for this extraordinary meeting, he would acquiesce in it; if not, he should think it his duty to submit to the house, on some other day, a proposition on a point which, viewed in every light, was of the

greatest importance to the country.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS observed, that by the 26th Geo. III. chap. 10, his Majesty had clearly and expressly a power to call out the Militia in certain cases, during a prorogation; and whenever he exercised that power, he was bound to call Parliament together within fourteen days. The legality of the meeting, and of the subsequent acts of legislation, did not depend, in the smallest degree, upon the truth of the allegations on which Ministers should advise the Crown to call out the militia; for in the statute which had been already mentioned, there was a specific clause legalizing every act which the Parliament should pass, after having been affembled before the expiration of a prorogation. The validity of its acts would therefore not depend on the truth or falsehood of the grounds on which the meeting might have been advised by ministers. Whether ministers were right or wrong in advising the measure, was another question; and probably a satisfactory answer would be given to If what should it in the course of the debate upon the address. then be faid should happen not to prove satisfactory to the learned gentleman, it would be perfectly open to him on any other day, to move for an inquiry into the conduct of ministers on this head; but he begged that it might be generally understood, that the legality of the prefent meeting, and of the future acts of the lession, was completely out of the question.

Mr. FOX admitted, that under the clause of the 26th of Geo. III. chap. 10, which the Rigit Hon. Gentleman had quoted, the present extraordinary meeting, and the subsequent acts of the fession, might be legal and valid; but he denied that the House ought to postpone, to a future day, an inquiry

into the conduct of ministers, in advising a measure of great alarm. The very first thing that the House ought to do was to ask why it was then met-why it had been called together before the expiration of the prorogation? He had no objection indeed first to vote an Address of Thanks to his Majesty for his gracious Speech; but then he would vote it in the simplest terms possible, and take care not to pledge the House to any strong measure, until it should have been made to appear that the cause of the prefent meeting was fuch as would warrant to extraordinary a departure from the common law and usage of Parliament. And he could not help observing by the way, that it was rather fingular that gentlemen should be obliged to ask, what were the grounds on which ministers advised the measure, when, if the oftenfible reason, viz. an insurrection, had really any foundation in truth, it must of necessity be apparent to the whole kingdom a matter of public notoriety.

Here this preliminary conversation ended. The SPEAKER then stated that he had attended the King in the House of Peers, where his Majesty made a most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, of which, to prevent mistakes, he had procured a copy. He then read the Speech.—When he had got through it, it appeared that Sir James Sanderson, who was to move the Address, had not yet come into the House. Upon this Mr. Jenkinson rose to speak; but at that instant a new Member was introduced, who took the oaths; whilst he was taking them,

The LORD MAYOR (Sir James Sanderson) entered the House, and took his seat. Immediately after, he rose to move the Address. His Lordship said he was extremely forry if an accidental interruption he had met with in the street had kept the House waiting for him; the delay was involuntary, and therefore he hoped it would be readily excused. He begged to lay claim to the indulgence which the House was always pleased to shew to Members who were not much in the habit of speaking in public; and he faid he was fo confcious of his inexperience in the rules and orders of Parliament, and of his want of abilities to do justice to the subject on which he was going to speak, that had it not been for information that had come to his knowledge in his official fituation of Chief Magistrate of London, he certainly would not have undertaken to make the motion which he intended this day to submit to the consideration of the House. He trusted that this declaration would acquit him of rafhness and temerity in having, thus circumstanced, stood forward to move an Address to his Majesty for his most gracious Speech from the Throne. Having premised thus much, he said he had been scarcely seated in the mayoralty chair of the capital, when he discovered that there were various societies, and descriptions of men, affociated for purposes which could not but alarm

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every man who felt loyalty to his King, and love for the conftitution. These societies held forth specious and plausible pretexts for their meetings; but whatever might be their oftenfible views, they all tended to one and the fame pernicious end—the destruction of our happy constitution. How he had come by this information, and what it was that he had learnt, he prefumed the House would not require him to state in public. It was fufficient that he had discovered enough to alarm him for every thing that was dear to Englishmen. He had accordingly communicated his fears to his fellow citizens, and put them on their guard. Their conduct on the occasion had done them honour, which would not die with them, but would be handed down to posterity as a monument of their loyalty to the best of Kings, and their attachment to the helt of conflictutions. Through the whole city nothing was to be heard but expressions of their determination to maintain both, as the fource and prefervers of the wealth, happiness, and prosperity, which they enjoyed.

The first Proclamation which his Majesty published during the last session of Parliament had certainly been productive of great good; but the check which it gave to feditious meetings and publications was not of long duration; and it was evident that those who were the advocates for innovation in this country were influenced in a great degree by the events which from time to time took place in France during the course of the last summer. They were dejected when it appeared probable that the arms of Austria and Prussia would be crowned with success. That this observation was well founded, was evident from the extravagane joy which they expressed on the retreat of the confederate armies. It was clear, therefore, that the innovators had it in profpect to effect in England such another revolution as had taken place in France, and to overrurn the Britist Constitution, fo long the pride and glory of these kingdoms, and the admiration of the world. Having dwelt fome time on this topie, Sir Jame touched next upon that part of the Speech which related to Holland. He faid, that by treaty we were specifically bound to maintain to that country the polletion of all its privileges and advantages; and when it appeared that France was going to deprive them of it, it was a facred duty on our part to stand forward and perform with good faith the engagements which we had by treaty contracted. Laftly, his Lordship adverted to the signal fuccesses of the British arms in India, under the auspices of Lord Cornwallis, which, he faid, would add as much to the profperity of the empire, as they had already redounded to the national honour. His Lordhip then returned thanks for the attention with which the House had honoured him, and said, that he would not trespals any longer on its patience, but would conclude by making his motion for an address to his Majesty. He accordingly made it, and the Address which he moved was, as

ufual, an echo of the King's Speech.

Mr. WALLACE seconded the motion; but he spoke in so low a tone, that it was with difficulty that we could catch some few of his observations. He said that no man could entertain a rational doubt of the propriety of every part of the Speech, and of the measure of calling the Parliament together before the expiration of the term of the prorogation. The infurrections that had taken place in various parts of the kingdom were matters of fuch notoriety, that it would be throwing away time to enumerate or specify them. Publications had been circulated through the country, calculated to inflame the minds of the people, make them diffatisfied with their prefent government, and to induce them to pull down our happy constitution, and establish in its stead another, formed on the model of the French republic. That the focieties by which these publications were circulated must have had such a revolution for their object, could not be doubted by any man who confidered that there was a close connexion between them and the ruling powers in France. kept up a correspondence with the National Convention, and even fent over deputies to it, who were received with the utmost respect, whose addresses were loudly applauded, and who were admitted with honour into the body of the house. These societies sympathised in every thing with the French; their countenances betrayed a dejection when the Duke of Brunswick was on his march to Paris, which could be furpaffed only by the extravagant joy which they expressed when he was obliged to retreat. Their connexion with the French was the more alarming, as the latter professed principles dangerous to every neighbouring state; they maintained the propriety of fomenting divifions among the subjects of the surrounding nations; and held out promifes of protection and support to all those who should think themselves aggrieved, and wished therefore to change the form of their government. In consequence of those principles, they had already invaded the Netherlands, and now threatened to deprive the Dutch of advantages which they had long enjoyed, which had been guaranteed to them by France herfelf, by England, and even by the Sovereign of the Netherlands. They could therefore have no just ground for such a proceeding; whilst we, on the other hand, were bound to fulfil our engagements with Holland specifically contracted, without inquiring why or wherefore the navigation of the Scheldt had been fecured to the Dutch. All that we had to confider on the occasion was, that they were in possession of the exclusive navigation of that river by the confent of the furrounding nations, and of the Houle of Austria

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Austria itself; and that we had pledged ourselves to maintain them in that possession. Seeing the state of affairs in this point of view, it was with great pleasure that he seconded the Motion for an Address made by the Right Hon. Magistrate, because he conceived that in so doing, he was giving support to a system of government under which the country had risen to enviable profperity.

The Address having been thus moved and seconded, was read

by the Speaker; after which

LORD VISCOUNT FIELDING role. He faid, that it had not been often in his power to agree with ministers, or give his approbation to their measures: on this day, however, they should have his support. The question on this occasion was not whether we should have this minister or that minister, but whether we should have any government at all. The time, he observed, was come when every man who was a friend to Monarchy, and to the Constitution in Church and State, as it was established at the glorious Revolution, should speak out, and rally round the Throne, which it was the wish of innovation to That Throne and that Constitution, he was determined to defend at the hazard of every thing that was dear to him; and if ministers stood in need of new or extraordinary powers for the prefervation of both, he for one was ready to vote them; and as an earnest of his funcerity in this declaration, he gave notice that he would on Monday next move for leave to bring in a Bill for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, as far as

it should relate to the persons of foreigners.

EARL of WYCOMBE declared that it was impossible for him to approve of what he did not understand; and therefore he could not give praise to ministers, or thank the King, for what was either not within his knowledge, or beyond his com-But this much he was able to fay, that the Speech prehention. calumniated the people of England; for so far was he from being able to discover any trace or symptom of insurrection, that the kingdom was at that very moment absolutely overflowing To the Constitution he was as warmly attached with loyalty. as any man in the nation, and would be as ready to rally round the Throne and defend it. He believed that there were very few, if any, to be found in England, who entertained a ferious wish to pull down the Constitution. The calamities which had befallen a neighbouring country would deter men from forming experimental governments. He knew that with respect to the forms of governments in general, there were different opinions held in England; but they were merely speculative; and ought not to occasion any alarm to the ministers of the Crown, unless they his statute and to nother an art to resign out by sub-weig

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were called forth into action, and made the ground-work of ac-

tive measures.

It was impossible that men should think upon and discuss a question respecting forms of government, without differing from each other in opinion; but as long as they confined themselves to mere argument, they could not be faid to afford any real ground for alarm. The Constitution of England was perfectly fafe, becaule it was a good one, and for a still better reason, because it was the government of the people's choice. Where, then, he asked, was the cause of alarm? It was evident that it did not exist in England. Did gentlemen think that it was to be found in Scotland? Certainly not; for what the people of that country looked for, was not a subversion, but sumply a reform of the Constitution, and the removal of certain abuses or defects in the representation of the Commons. They had no hostile intentions against either the Crown or the House of Lords. Was it in Ireland that the cause for alarm might be discovered? Certainly not; for the claims of the Catholics of that kingdom were neither unreasonable or inimical to the constitution: they looked for a participation of its bleffings, and not for its overthrow; and he hoped the day was not diffant, when a subject should no longer be deprived of his civil rights on account of his religious opinions, and when his religion should be considered by the State, in the light in which it ought to be viewed, as a matfer between the creature and his Maker. His Lordship turning to another topic, faid he had heard with great forrow, that part of his Majesty's Speech which adverted to the possibility of a foreign war. There was not, in his opinion, a fufficient caule for it at prefent; nor did he believe that any thing thort of an actual invation could justify, a nation in entering into a foreign war. was fo very near being decidedly of that opinion, that if a motion were made for leave to bring in a Bill for declaring that the country fhould never engage in any war, unless for the purpose of resisting an invasion, he verily believed he should vote for it. If we were bound by the treaty of 1787, to maintain to Hol-land the exclusive navigation of the Scheldt, and to the Stadtholder his privileges, more fhame to those who entered into such an engagement. His Lordship read the third Article of that treaty. and shewed that it amounted to a violation of the laws of nations. The office of Stadtholder, he faid, was no effential, part of the Republic, the Durch might see cause for modifying or abolishing it; but this article told them, that if ever they should prefume to do fuch a thing, though they had an undoubted right to do it, the power of England should be sent forth in support of the Stadtholder, and against the sovereign right of the Republic. The opening of the navigation of the Scheldt did

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not firike him as being of fufficient confequence to justify a war with France; were the to with to throw open that trade to Spanish America, would it be the interest of England to prevent her? She might even open to herfelf the Black Sea; but that would not operate to the injury or exclusion of England; for her activity and her capital would enable her to purfue the fame track, and come in for a share of the advantages of the trade carried on in that quarter. He observed, that should we unfortunately be forced into a war with France, which certainly had not provoked it by any act of holtility, or attempt to invade our territory, he did not see how we could make any impression upon that country. She had of late begun to think that a feltem of colonizing, and holding transmarine possessions, was not wife of politic, and therefore the would not be very folicitous about preferving her colonies, which we now confidered rather as her weakness, than her strength; and indeed this opinion respecting fuch possessions was not peculiar to France, for there were perfons of great abilities, who doubted much, whether Ericland would not be more powerful without her colonies than with them; for whilst on the one hand the would be fure of being able to trade with them, the would on the other find herfelf relieved from the enormous expence of defending them. The revolution tion in North America had occasioned this doubt; for our commerce with the United States was more confiderable and advantageous to us at this moment, than it was whill they were parts of the British Empire, and consequently when the methen country was obliged to incur the expence of defending them. We might, it was true, injure the trade of France, were we to go to war with that country; but it ought to be remembered, that the more our own trade was extended, the more it would be exposed to danger. Upon the whole, he did not he fitate to declare, that in his opinion a war with France, and in the prefent circumstances, would be highly imprudent : he therefore, should not be able to vote for the Address moved by the Right Hon. Magistrate, unless such an Amendment should be adopted as would remove his objections to it. Should any member move such an amendment, he said he would vote for it; should not such be moved, he declared he would not give any vote at all either for or against the Address. The manage and

Mr. FOX faid,—Although what has fallen from the Noble Lord behind me contains the fubflance of almost all that I have to offer, and although it produced the effects which good fenfe truth, and folid argument, never fail to produce on a great body, the tacit acknowledgment of all who heard him, infomuch, that no one feemed ready to venture to rife up in answer to his Lordship, yet I must deliver my opinion on this most imminent

and most alarming occasion. - I am not so little acquainted with the nature of man, as not to know, that in speaking in public, in order to engage the cordial attention of the hearers, befides, the efficacy of fair and candid reasoning, a man ought always to be in temper and unifon with his audience. He ought to shew that, however they may differ upon points, he purfues in reality the same object as themselves, the love of truth. With this view, I shall state explicitly what are my fentiments on the subject now presented to us by the speech from the Throne. I state it then to be my opinion, that we are affembled at the most critical and most momentous crisis, not only that I ever knew in the fate of this country, but that I ever read of in the history of this country—a crisis not merely interesting to ourselves and to our own condition, but to all nations and to all men-and that upon the conduct of Parliament in this critis, depends not merely the fate of the British Constitution, but of doctrines which go to the happiness and well-being of all human kind. I hope then I am in temper and unifon with the House in this declaration of my fentiments; whether we agree in the motives of our fentiments we shall see, for I will as frankly and as openly as possible communicate my reasons for considering the present moment in this alarming light. avoid to and mile

His Majesty's speech is full of a variety of affertions, or perhaps I should not make use of the word affertions, without adding, that it has also a variety of infinuations conveyed in the shape of affertions, which must impress every man with the most imminent apprehensions for the safety of every thing that is justly dear to Englishmen. It is our first duty to inquire into the truth of these affertions and infinuations so conveyed to us from the throne. I am fure I need not recur to the old parliamentary usage of defiring, that when I speak by name of the King's speech, I mean to be considered as speaking of the speech of the minister, since no one will impute to me the want of the most true and fincere respect for his Majesty. It is to the speech which his Majesty has been advised by his confidential fervants to deliver from the Throne. They are responsible for every letter of it, and to them, and them only, every observation of gentlemen is addressed. I state it therefore to be my firm opinion and belief, that there is not one fact afferted in his Majesty's speech which is not false-not one affertion or insinuation which is not unfounded. Nay, I cannot be fo uncandid as to believe, that even the ministers themselves think them true. This charge upon his Majesty's ministers is of so ferious a kind, that I do not pronounce it lightly, and I defire that gentlemen will go fairly into the confideration of the fubject, and manifest the proper spirit of the Representatives of the base 1 5 Secretary People

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People in such a moment. What the Noble Lord said is most strictly true. The great prominent feature of the speech is, that it is an intolerable calumny on the people of Great Britain; an infinuation of fo gress and so black a nature, that it demands the most rigorous inquiry, and the most severe punishment. The next affertion is, that there exists at this moment an infurrection in this kingdom. An infurrection! Where is it? Where has it reared its head? Good God! an infurrection in Great Britain! No wonder that the militia were called out, and Parliament affembled in the extraordinary way in which they have been; but where is it? Two Gentlemen have spoken in commendation and illustration of the Speech; and yet, though this infurrection has existed, for fourteen days, they have given us no light whatever—no clue—no information where to find it. The Right Honourable Magistrate tells us, that, in his high municipal fituation, he has received certain information which he does not think proper to communicate to us. This is really carrying the doctrine of confidence to a length indeed -Not content with ministers leading the House of Commons into the most extravagant and embarrassing situations, under the blind cover of confidence, we are now told that a municipal magistrate has information of an insurrection, which he does not choose to lay before the Commons of England, but which he affures us is fufficient to justify the alarm that has spread over the whole country! The Honourable Gentleman who seconded the motion tells us, that the " infurrections are too notorious to be described." Such is the information which we receive from the Right Hon: Magistrate and the Hon. Gentleman, who are telected to move and fecond the Address-I will take upon me to fay, that it is not the notoriety of the infurrections which prevents them from communicating to us the particulars, but their non-existence. The speech goes on in the same strain of calumny and falsehood, and fays" the industry employed to, excite discontent on various pretexts, and in different parts of " the kingdom, has appeared to proceed from a defign to at-" tempt the destruction of our happy Constitution, and the " fubversion of all order and government." I desire gentlemen to consider these words, and I demand of their honour and truth if they believe this affertion to be founded in fact. There have been, as I understand, and as every one must have heard, some flight riots in different parts, but I ask them, were not the various pretexts of these different tumults false, and used only to cover an attempt to destroy our happy Constitution? I have heard of a tumult at Shields; of another at Leith; of some riot at Yarmouth, and of something of the same nature at Perth and Dundee. I ask gentlemen if they believe that in each of

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these places the avowed object of the complaint of the people was not the real one—that the failors at Shields, Yarmouth, &cc. did not really want some increase of their wages, but were actuated by a delign of overthrowing the constitution. Is there a man in England who believes this infinuation to be true? And in like manner of every other meeting, to which, in the prefent fpirit, men may give the name of tumultuous affembling. I defire to know if there has been discovered any secret motive other than their open and avowed one. And yet, with this conviction in our minds, we are called upon to declare directly our belief and perfuation that these things are so-We are called upon to join in the libel upon our constituents. The answer to the Speech fays, that we know of the tumult and disorder, but as to the actual infurrection, it more modefuly makes us fay, " That "we are farry to hear there is an infurrection." -Of the tumults and diforders then we have perfonal knowledge; but the infur-

rection we learn from his Majesty's Speech!

I do not wish to enter at length into the affairs of France. which make the next prominent passage in his Majesty's Speech; but though I do not defire to enter at much length into this part, I cannot conceal my fentiments on certain doctrines which I have heard to night. The Honourable Gentleman, who feconded the motion, thought proper to fay, as a proof that there existed a dangerous spirit in this country, that it was manifested " by the drooping and dejected aspect of many persons when " the tidings of Dumourier's furrender arrived in England." What, Sir, is this to be confidered as a fign of discontent, and of a preference to republican doctrines.—That men should droop, and be dejected in their spirits, when they heard that the armies of defpotism had triumphed over an army fighting for liberty-if fuch dejection be a proof that men are discontented with the constitution of England, and leagued with foreigners in an attempt to destroy it, I give myself up to my country as a guilty man, for I freely confess that, when I heard of the furrender or retreat of Dumourier, and that there was a probability of the triumph of the armies of Austria and Prusha over the liberties of France, my spirits drooped, and I was much dejected. What, Sir, could any man who loves the constitution of England, who feels its principles in his heart, wish success to the Duke of Brunswick, after reading a manifesto which violated every doctrine that Englishmen held facred, which trampled under foot every principle of inflice and humanity, and freedom, and true governmentand upon which the combined armies entered the kingdom of France, with which they had nothing to do; and when he heard, or thought that he faw a probability of their fuccess. could any man of true British feelings be other than dejected? I honeftly

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honeitly confess that I never felt more finceregloom and dejection in my life, for I faw in the triumph of that conspiracy not merely the ruin of liberty in France, but the ruin of liberty in England—the ruin of the liberty of man. But am I to be told that my forrow was an evident proof of my being connected with the French nation, or with any persons in that nation, for the purpose of aiding them in creating discontents in England, or in making any attempt to destroy the British constitution? If such conclusion were to be drawn from the dejection of those who are hostile to the maxims of tyranny, upon which the invation of France was founded, what must we say of those men who acknowledge that they are forry the invalion did not prosper? Am I to believe that the honourable Gentleman, and all others, who confess their forrow at the failure of the arms of Prussia and Auitria, were connected with the courts in concert, and that a coninderable body of persons in this country were actually in the horrid league formed against human liberty? Are we taught to bring this heavy charge against all men whose spirits drooped on the reverse of the news, and when it turned out that it was not Dumourier, but the Duke of Brunswick who had retreated? No; he would not charge them with being confederates with the invaders of France; nor did they believe, nor durst they believe, that the really constitutional men of England, who rejoiced on the overthrow of that horrid and profligate scheme, wished to draw therefrom any thing hostile to the established government of England.

But what, Sir, are the doctrines that they defire to let up by this infinuation of gloom and dejection?—That Englishmen are not to dare to have any genuine feelings of their own-That they must not rejoice but by rule—That they must not think but by order—That no man shall dare to exercise his faculties in contemplating the objects that furround him, nor give way to the indulgence of his joy or grief in the emotions that they excite, but according to the instructions that he shall receive .-That, in observing the events that happen to surrounding and neutral nations, he shall not dare to think whether they are favourable to the principles that contribute to the happiness of man, or the contrary; and that he must take not merely his opinions, but his fenfations, from his Majesty's ministers and their fatellites for the time being! Sir, whenever the time shall come that the character and spirits of Englishmen are so subdued—when they shall consent to believe that every thing which happens around is indifferent both to their understandings and to their hearts; and when they shall be brought to rejoice and grieve, just as it shall suit the taste, the caprice, or the ends of ministers, then I pronounce the constitution of this country to

antequed but to men you all

be extinct. We have read of religious perfecutions-of the implacable oppressions of the Roman see-of the horrors of the inquisition of Spain; but so obstinate—so hard—so intolerable a scheme of cruelty was never engendered in the mind, much less practifed, by any tyrant, spiritual or temporal. For see to what lengths they carry this system of intellectual oppression-Under various pretexts there have been tumults and disorders, but the true defign was to overturn the constitution.—So says the Speech—and mark the illustration of the Right Honourable Magistrate. "There have been various societies established in "the city of London, instituted for the plausible purpose of "merely discussing constitutional questions, but which were " really defigned to propagate these seditious doctrines."-So then, by this new scheme of tyranny, we are not to judge of the conduct of men by their overt acts, but are to arrogate to ourselves at once the province and the power of the Deity-we are to arraign a man for his fecret thoughts, and to punish him because we choose to believe him guilty?-" You tell me indeed," fays one of these municipal inquisitors—" that you meet " for an honest purpose,—but I know better—Your plausible " pretext shall not impose upon me-I know your seditious de-" fign. I will brand you for a traitor by my own proper autho-"rity." What innocence can be fafe against such a power? What inquifitor of Spain, of ancient or of modern tyranny, can hold so lofty a tone? Well and nobly, seasonably and truly, has the noble Earl (Wycombe) faid; and I would not weaken the fentiment by repeating the expression in terms less forcible than his own, but that the eternal truth cannot fuffer by the feebleness of the terms in which it is conveyed; "There are specu-" lative people in this country, who disapprove of the system of " our government, and there must be such men as long as the " land is free, for it is of the very effence of freedom for men to "differ upon speculative points." Is it possible to conceive, that it should enter into the imaginations of freemen to doubt of this truth? The instant that the general sense of the people shall question this truth, and that opinion shall be held dependent on the will of ministers and magistrates, from that moment, I say, I date the extinction of our liberties as a people. Our conflitution was not made, thank God, in a day—It is the result of progressive wisdom—It has grown up in a feries, and never, never, has the guardian protecting genius of England been either afleep or fatisfied.

O but man, proud man!

Plays fuch fantastic tricks before high Heaven,

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Now it feems the constitution is complete now we are to fland still. We are to deride the practice and the wisdom of our forefathers—we are to elevate ourselves with the constitution in our hands, and to hold it forth to a wondering world as a model of human perfection. "Away with all further improvement, for it is impossible—away with all further melioration of the state of man in fociety, for it is needlefs. Let no man touch this work of man-it is like the work of Heaven, perfect in all its parts. and unlike every other work of man, it is neither capable of perverson, nor subject to decay."-Such is the presumptuous language that we hear; and not content with this haughty tone, they imitate the celebrated anathema of brother Peter, in the Tale of a Tub, and exclaim, "G-d confound you all eter-

nally, if you offer to believe otherways."

Now this, Sir, is the crifis which I think fo truly alarming. We are come to the moment, when the question is, Whether we shall give to the King, that is, to the executive government, complete power over our thoughts. Whether we are to refign the exercise of our natural faculties to the ministers for the time being, or whether we shall maintain, that in England no man is criminal but by the commission of overt acts forbidden by the law.—This I call a crifis more imminent and tremendous than any that the history of this country ever exhibited. I am not so ignorant of the present state of men's minds, and of the ferment artfully created, as not to know that I am now advancing an opinion likely to be unpopular. It is not the first time that I have incurred the fame hazard. But I am as ready to meet the current of popular opinion now running in favour of those high lay doctrines, as in the year 1783. I was to meet the opposite torrent, when it was faid that I wished to facrifice the people to the Crown. I will do now as I did then—I will act against the cry of the moment in the confidence that the reflection of the people will bear me out. I know well that there are focieties who have published opinions, and circulated pamphlets containing doctrines tending, if you please, to subvert our establishments. I fay that they have done nothing unlawful in this, for these pamphlets have not been suppressed by law. Shew me the law that orders these books to be burnt, and I will acknowledge. the illegality of their proceeding; but if there be no fuch law, you violate the law in acting without authority. You have taken upon you to do that for which you have no warrant, and you vote they are guilty. What is the course prescribed by law? If any doctrines are published tending to subvert the constitution in church and state, you may take cognizance of the fact in a court of law. What have you done? Taken upon you by your own authority to suppress them! to erect every man, not merely into

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an inquilitor, but into a judge, into a fpy, into an informerto fet father against father-brother against brother, and neighbour against neighbour, and in this way you expect to maintain the peace and tranquillity of the country !- You have gone upon the principles of flavery in all your proceedings; you neglect in your conduct the foundation of all legitimate government, the rights of the people—the rights of man. And, fetting up this bugbear, you foread a panic for the very purpose of fanctifying this infringement, while again the very infringement begets. and engenders the evil which you dread. One extreme naturally leads to another. Those who dread republicanism fly for shelter to the Crown. Those who defire reform, and are calumniated, are driven by despair to republicanism. And this is the evil that I dread. These are the extremes into which these violent agitations hurry the people to the gradual decrease of that middle order of men who dread as much republicanism on the one hand, as they do despotism on the other—that middle order of men, who have hitherto preserved to this country all that is dear in life, I am forry to fay it, is daily leffening; but permit me to fay, that while my feeble voice continues it shall not be totally extinct—there shall at least be one man who will, in this ferment of extremes, preserve the centre point. I may be abused by one fide, I may be libelled by the other; I may be branded at one and the same time with the terms of firebrand and lukewarm politician; but though I love popularity, and fairly own that there is no external reward fo dear to me as the good opinion and confidence of my fellow citizens; yet no temptation of fuch complacency shall ever induce me to join any affociation that has for its object a change in the balis of our constitution, or an extension of any of these bases beyond the just proportion.—I will stand in the gap, and oppose myself to all the wild projects of a new-fangled theory, as much as against the monstrous iniquity of exploded doctrines. I think the latter is more our present danger than the former. I fee not merely in the panic of the timorous, but in the acts of the defigning, cause for alarm against the most abhorrent doctrines. The new affociations have acted with little disguise. One of them I must applaud for the fincerity of its practice. Mr. Chairman Reeves fays, that they will not only profecute, but they will convince men, and they recommend, among other publications, a handbill, entitled, " A Pennyworth of Wit," in which, among other odd things, it is faid, " Have you not read the Bible?-Do you not know that it is "there written, that the King is the Lord's Anointed?—But "did you ever hear of his having anointed a republic?"—Such is the manner that these affociations are to convince the minds of men! In the course of the present century, their recommendathreaded and south a noticou tion

tion would have been profecuted as high treason. In the years 1716 and 1745 to have dared to fay that Kings derived their power from divine right, would have been profecuted as treason; and I alk you if, even now, this is the way to inculcate the principles of genuine loyalty? No, Sir, thank God! the people of this country have a better ground of loyalty to the House of Brunswick than divine right-namely, that they are the Sovereigns of their own election; -that their right is not derived from fuperstition, but from the choice of the people themselves;that it originated in the only genuine fountain of all royal power, the will of the many-and that it has been firengthened and confirmed by the experience of the bleffings they have enjoyed, because the House of Brunswick has remembered the principles upon which they received the crown. It is rather extraordinary, Sir, that they should hold fuch a language at this precise moment—that they should think it right to abuse republics—at the very moment that we are called upon to protect the republic of Holland, to spread the doctrine that Kings only have divine right, may indifpose your allies to receive your proposed succour. -It may be asked, Would I prosecute such papers? To this I answer very candidly, I would not. I never yet saw the seditions paper that I would have thought it necessary to prosecute; but that by no means implies but that emergencies might make it proper: but furely there is nothing to effential to the true check of fedition, as impartiality in profecution. If a government wishes to be respected, they must act with the most rigorous impartiality, and must shew that they are as determined to prevent the propagations of doctrines injurious to the rights of the people as they are those hostile to the rights of the Crown. If men are to be encouraged to rally round the one flandard, you must not, you ought not, to prevent volunteers from rallying round the other, unless you desire to stifle in the breasts of men the furest and most active principle of obedience, belief in your impartiality.

When I first heard that the Militia were called out, I felt more anxiety and conflernation than ever possessed my mind. I thought that certainly they had heard of some actual insurrection, or impending invasion. But when I heard that they were not called out to enable ministers to send the troops to any distant part, to Ireland, or to Scotland (where they might know of disturbances, though I did not), but that troops were assembling round London, I firmly believed the whole to be a fraud; for I have friends in and about London, as intelligent, as vigilant, as much interested in the tranquillity of the metropolis, as the Right Hon. Magistrate; and I was consident that an infurrection could not actually exist in London without being known.

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I pronounced it in my own mind to be a fraud, and I pronounce it here to be fo. - I am not given to make light affertions in this House, nor do I desire implicit belief. I deprecate confidence in my bare affertion. On the contrary, I state that I believe this pretext to be a fraud, and I intreat you to inquire, that you may ascertain the truth. I know that there are societies who have indulged themselves, as I think, in filly and frantic speculations -and who have published toasts, &c. that are objectionable; but that there is any infurrection, or that any attempt was making to overthrow the constitution, I deny. Now if this affertion of ministers is a falsehood, is it an innocent falsehood? Are the people of this country playthings in the hands of ministers, that they may frighten them and diffurb them at pleasure? Are they to treat them as some weak jealous-pated and capricious mentreat their wives and mistresses—alarm them with false stories, that they may cruelly feaft on the torture of their apprehensions. and delight in the susceptibility that drowns them in tears! Have they no better enjoyment than to put forth false alarms, that they may draw from the people the foothing expressions of agitated loyalty? Or do they think that these expressions, generously, readily made, in favour of the King whom the people rationally love, may extend its influence to all the persons that are near his throne? Indulging in this passion, they may keep us incessantly in the tumult of apprehension, until at last they so habituate the mind to dread the evil in this quarter, as to look for it in no other, or to stun it by repeated shocks of siction into an infenfibility of real attack.

His Majesty, in the next passage of his Speech, brings us to the apprehension of a war. I shall refrain at this time from faying all that occurs to me on this subject, because I wish to keep precifely to the immediate object: but never furely had this country to much reason to wish for peace-Never was a period so little favourable to a rupture with France, or with any power. I am not ready to subscribe exactly to the idea of the noble Lord: but I wish that a motion was proposed by some person, to express our disapprobation of entering upon any war, if we can by any honourable means avoid it.—Let no man be deterred by the dread of being in a minority. A minority faved this country from a war against Russia-And surely it is out duty, as it is true policy, to exert every means to avert that greatest of national calamities. In 1789 we all must remember that Spain provoked this country by an infult, which is a real aggression; we were all agreed on the necessity of the case, but did we go headlong to war? No, we determined with becoming fortitude on an armed negociation. We did negociate and we avoided a war. But now we disdain to negociate. Why? Becaule

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cause we have no minister at Paris. - Why have we no minister there? Because France is a Republic! And so we are to pay in the blood and treasure of the people for a punctilio! If there are discontents in the kingdom, Sir, this is the way to inflame them! It is of no consequence to any people what is the form of the government with which they may have to treat. It is with the governors, whatever may be the form, that in common fense and policy they can have to do, and if they should change their form and change their governors, their course would remain the same. Having no legitimate concern with the internal state of any independent people, the road of common sense is That of pride and punctilio is as tangled fimple and direct. as it is surpentine. Is the pretext the opening of the Scheldt? I cannot believe that fuch an object can be the real cause. I doubt, even if a war on this pretext would be undertaken with the approbation of the Dutch.—What was the conduct of the French themselves, under their depraved old system, when the good of the people never entered into the contemplation of the Cabinet? The Emperor threatened to open the Scheldt in 1786. Did the French go to war with him instantly to prevent it? No. They opened a negociation, and prevented it by interfering with their good offices. Why have we not fo interfered? Because, forsooth, France is an unanointed Republic! Oh miserable, infatuated Frenchmen! Oh lame and inconsiderate politicians! Why, instead of breaking the holy vial of Rheims, why did you not pour some of the sacred oil on the heads of your Executive Council, that the pride of states might not be forced to plunge themselves and you into the horrors of war, rather than be contaminated by your acquaintance? How fhort fighted were you to believe, that the prejudices of infants had departed with the gloom of ignorance, and that states were grown up to a state of manhood and reason!

This naturally brings us back again to the business of this day, namely, whether any Address should be agreed to or not. I desire then to put it seriously to the conscience and honour of Gentlemen to say, if they are not aiding the object of Republicans and Levellers, if they shall agree to plunge this country headlong into a war, or shall agree to do any business, or to give any pledge whatever to the Crown, until they inquire and alcertain whether there is an insurrection in this country or not? Shall we declare war without inquiring, whether we are also to have commotions at home? Shall we pledge our constituents to submission, to compliance, without first proving to them that the strong measure of Government has been authorised by truth?—

If you would have the laws respected by the people, I say again, you must begin by showing that they are respected from above.

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If you do not prove to the people that there is an actual infurrection (for I leave out impending invasion and rebellion, as these are not even pretended) you cannot withhold from them the knowledge that you have acted illegally, and how can you expect rational obedience to the laws when you yourselves counteract them? When you fet up the ratio fuasoria as the ratio justifica, the people clearly difcern the fubtlety and falsehood of your logic, and translate at once your terms into their true English of real causes and false pretexts. Ut ameris amabilis esto, is as true in government and legislation, as it is in manners and private life, and is as well established by experience.—The people will not They will look round, and demand where this be cheated. danger is to be feen. Is it in England—They fee it overflowing in expressions of loyalty, and yet they libel it with imputations In Ireland—you know there is danger, and of infurrection. dare not own it. Here you have prorogued the Parliament to the 17th instant, but not to meet till the end of January for the dispatch of business, though you know that there a most respectable and formidable Convention—(I call it formidable, because I know nothing fo formidable as reason, truth, and justice) will oblige you, by the most cogent reasons, to give way to demands, which the magnanimity of the nation ought to have anticipated. There you have thus prorogued the Parliament, and deprived yourselves of the means of doing that gracefully which you must do, and which you ought to have done long ago, to subjects as loyal, as attached to their King, as abundantly endowed with every manly virtue, as any part of the United Kingdom. And while the claims of generous, and ill-treated millions are thus protracted, and in addition to the hardship of their concition, they are insulted with the impudent affertion of the tyrannical afcendancy, there is a miserable mockery held out of alarms in England which have no existence, but which are made the pretext of affembling the Parliament in an extraordinary way, in order What must be in reality to engage you in a foreign contest. the fatal consequence when a well judging people shall decide, what I fincerely believe—that the whole of this bufiness is a ministerial manœuvre? Will they own the real truth, and fay that they wanted a pretext to affemble Parliament to make up for their want of vigilance? They must take their choice, and fubmit to incur the indignation of their country, or feel themfelves in a state of contempt. There are men who in this very act give them the praise of vigilance. They did all this, to be fure, with a little harmless fraud, to prevent evils. Let us examine this their claim to vigilance.

This vigilant ministry faw, nay, if we may take their character from their affociates, hoped that France was on the brink

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of falling a facrifice to the united force of Austria and Prussia, the two powers, of all others, whose union would be the most dreadful thing to England; but they faw no danger in this conquest to England, though thereby these great military powers were to become maritime.—They faw no danger in the union concerted between them; nay, when they had given away Poland in the mean time, because I suppose they thought that when Ockzakoff was gone, the balance of Europe went with it, and they retreated out of the field with difgrace. They gave away Poland with as little compunction as honour, and with the unenviable certainty, that their bluftering was laughed at, and defpised in every Court in Europe. I know that some of them have inordinate felf-complacency, yet I will not be fo uncandid as to conceal my honest opinion, that there is not among them a fingle man, whose talents for great and commanding policy have either attracted or fecured the confidence of any quarter of Europe. Do they boast of their vigilance? The dexterous furrender of Ockzakoff, as they now know, might have faved the fall and ruin of Poland. Do they boast of their vigilance? and had they no apprehension of the union between Austria and Prussia? Had they such total reliance on the moderation of Prussia, on his intimate friendship with, his gratitude to, his confidence in, our faithful Cabinet? Do they boast of their vigilance, and yet faw nothing of their prefent dread for Holland and Brabant, on the 30th of September, when to the joy of every man, whose heart is warmed with the love of freedom, the Duke of Brunswick retreated before the armies of France? Were they vigilant not to foresee the consequences of that retreat, or did they flatter themselves with the weak, the false hope, that still the steadiness of men bred up in the trammels of tactics and discipline, would be an overmatch for the impetuofity of men animated by the glorious flame of liberty? If fo, the battle of Jemappe ought, I should think, to have shewn vigilant men their error. That happened on the 6th of November. On the same day the government of the Netherlands took to flight, and the news arrived in England on the 10th or 12th. What did these vigilant ministers? On the 17th they prorogued the Parliament to the 3d of January, without even faying that it was then to meet for the dispatch of business! And yet on these vigilant men we are to repose, though in the eyes of Europe, in the hearts of Englishmen, an armament in their hands is a proof and earnest of their future humiliation!

They call for subsidiary aid from the loyalty of the people, and to procure this they have recourse to history, and look out for the lucky frauds of former times—They find one of the most lucky frauds was the Popish plot of the reign of Charles

the Second—The fame cry they knew was impossible, but a fimilar one was feafible in the enmity against a Republic. The Protestant Dissenters then were made the objects of terror, and every art was used to provoke the rage of ignorance and barbarity.—The fraud was too fuccessful—Many of my friends from the best motives were deluded into the snare, and that most calamitous of all measures, the proclamation, unfortunately for England, met with their countenance. I cannot better describe this calamity than by reading a passage from an eminent historian, on the fatal consequences of the delusion of the Popish plot. My friends will not fuffer by being compared to the celebrated Lord Ruffell:-

"But there were persons it seems ready to adopt his (Oates's) intelligence, imperfect, chimerical, or fictitious as it was, and to make use of it as a firebrand, to light up such a flame of diffension as had like to have laid waste the kingdom; and of these, according to the distinction already made, some were weak and some were wicked The weak were those who thought popery the great mischief that comprehended all others; who mistook prejudice for conviction, credulity for candour, and rigour for righteousness. These however meant well, though they acted ill; and while doing the drudgery of a party, persuaded themselves they were saving the nation. The wicked were the master-politicians of the times; who considered Kings not as they were, good or ill in themselves, but as they were ill or good with respect to their own immediate views: now the plot, whether true or false, was formed of the happiest ingredients imaginable to

advance their interest."

Now, Sir, let me address one word to my valued friends—Let them reflect on the consequences of their recent delusion, not diffimilar to the above. The measure of the proclamation is now stated to be over-It has failed-Let them avoid all further fnares of the fame kind. These declarations which it is now the fashion to fign, I certainly cannot in general approve. Of all that I have feen, that of the merchants must best conciliate the approbation of conflitutional men; but I fee and hear on every fide fuch violent doctrines, and fuch afflicting measures, as no man who is actuated by the wish of preserving peace in this country can subscribe to. A noble Lord, for whom I have a high respect, says he will move for a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. I hope not. Come from whom it may, I shall with my most determined powers oppose so dreadful a measure.

What, it may be asked, would I propose to do in hours of agitation like the present? I will answer openly. . If there is a tendency in the Diffenters to discontent, because they conceive themselves unjustly suspected and cruelly calumniated, what fhould

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should I do? I would instantly repeal the Test Corporation Acts, and take from them thereby all cause of complaint. were any persons tinctured with a republican spirit because they thought that the representative government was more perfect in a Republic, I would endeavour to amend the Representation of the Commons, and to prove that the House of Commons, though not chosen by all, should have no other interest than to prove itself the representative of all. If there were men distatiffied in Scotland or Ireland, or elsewhere, on account of disabilities and exemptions, of unjust prejudices, and of cruel restrictions, I would repeal the penal statutes, which are a disgrace to our law book.—If there were other complaints of grievance, I would redress them where they were really proved; but, above all, I would constantly, cheerfully, patiently listen. I would make it known that if any man felt, or thought he felt, a grievance, he might come freely to the bar of this House, and bring his proofs, -And it should be made manifest to all the world, that wher they did exist, they should be redressed; where they did not, that it should be made manifest. If I were to iffue a proclamation, this should be my proclamation: "If any man has a grievance, let him bring it to the bar of the Commons House of Parliament, with the firm persuasion of having it honestly investigated." These are the subsidies that I would grant to Government. What, instead of this, is done? Suppress the complaint—check the circulation of knowledge—command that no man shall read, or that as no man under 100l. a year can kill a partridge, that no man under 20 or 30l. a year shall dare to read or think!

I fee in Westminster the most extraordinary resolutions of parochial meetings—In Soho—In St. Clement's, publicans are threatened with the loss of their licenses if they dare to suffer conversation which they think seditious. Good God! where did justices find this law? And publicans are to be made judges of libel—No paper is to be suffered but what is free from sedition—no conversation but what they shall judge loyal—although the knowledge of what is a libel was stated to be fit only to be judged of by sages in the law. Yet the papers recommended to be read by these Associations are full of the most horrid doctrines.—The Letter of Thomas Bull, for instance, very modestly hints, that to exterminate the differences would be be an excess of virtue. Debating Societies are now found to be seditious, though I never knew London to be without them; and by what law the magistrates can interrupt the peaceable discussion of political questions.

tions, I cannot conceive.

I love the Constitution as it is established; it has grown up with me as a prejudice, and as a habit, as well as from conviction. I know that it is calculated for the happiness of man, and that

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its constituent branches of King, Lords, and Commons, could not be altered or impaired without entailing on this country the most dreadful miseries. At the same time I do not think so highly of any human institution, as to believe that it is incapable of being perverted. I think that we may be led asleep to our real danger by these perpetual alarms to loyalty, and that the great dread of increasing the power of the Crown seems to be stifled, while we are insensibly degrading the power of the Commons.

It is impossible to touch upon every point which was urged by Mr. Fox, in an admirable speech which he was more than two hours in delivering, and which seemed to make a great impression on the House. He concluded with moving the following

Amendment:

"To leave out all the words of the Address subsequent to that part which expresses the attachment of the House of

" Commons to his Majesty and the Constitution.

- "To infert in their stead the following—To assure his Mai jesty, that the House of Commons, in uniting with the rest
 of his subjects in those sentiments of duty and attachment to
 the Constitution, feel the deepest anxiety in beholding those
 measures which are now adopted by the Executive Government.
- "To declare to his Majesty, that his Majesty's faithful Commons will proceed with all possible speed in instituting an
 munity into those causes which have occasioned them to be
 affembled in so alarming a manner."

Mr. WHITMORE seconded the Motion.

Mr. WYNDHAM regretted the necessity of having to defend the measures of gentlemen to whom he confessed he was not generally partial, against those for whom he had long been In the habit of feeling attachments. But the question at present depended on the state of the danger of the country; a question which was too important to admit any facrifice to party-feelings. He asked them whether the country was in that danger, or not? and on this subject he had conceived there could only be one fentiment. His Hon. Friend conceived the present appearance of danger to be a manœuvre of government; but he was of a far contrary opinion, fince government must possess extraordinary powers indeed to excite so general an alarm throughout the country. If any censure were imputable to government, it was, in his opinion, because government had not sooner adopted meafures of prevention; focieties had been established in every place, and the fymptoms of danger had been too obvious to be overlooked. We could go no where without being convinced of it; the whole country rang of it. Was it asked by what means We '

we should arrive at a conviction of the danger? By what other means than by a collection of those numerous circumstances, of which every man knows fome, and no man all, and which too plainly proved the object that was to be apprehended!—It was heard in every company; it was feen in the confident looks of fuch as wished it; and the fact could be doubted by those only who believed but what they faw, and faw nothing but what they chose to see. With regard to the freedom of discussing speculative opinions, the folution of that point depended on two queltions: the one was a question of policy, and the other of right; and the Honourable Gentleman would doubt of neither. art of diffeminating opinions, which was so ably defended, and had of late been exercised with so much success, took its first rise in the Society for Constitutional Information: it was thence transplanted into a neighbouring country, and having there produced the aftonishing effects which some people had thought proper subjects of admiration, it was brought back again to England, and was now purfued with the utmost industry. There existed a constant correspondence of the republican societies in this kingdom with those of Paris; a reciprocal communication of fentiment between Englishmen in France and Frenchmen in London. Books containing feditious doctrines were given away to the lower classes of people; and there was every reason to believe that the means of supporting the expence of fuch a plan were afforded by France; for men do not like to give books away with money out of their own pockets; and whose interest was it to differinate seditious doctrines in this country but that of France?-

[Here a cry of Prove! Prove! was uttered by several of the Members, when Mr. Burke rose, and observed, that if a gentleman stated a fact of this nature, the House had no right to call for proof, fince there might afterwards be a proper time in which fuch proof would be called for and produced.]

Mr. Wyndham proceeded, and observed, that though he had not obtained a knowledge of the particulars of the fact, he had been informed of the general circumstance by a gentleman belonging to that House who had been extremely active in his inquiries on the subject. The affiduity with which the proceedings of these Societies were carried on was evident: and though it was impoffible to determine with preciseness, from whom the means proceeded, he firmly believed that they came from France. These efforts to diffeminate pernicious doctrines on the subject of civil government, were dignified by the name of Political Instruction; but the very term Instruction, even in the best of causes, implies coercion upon the mind; and whether the people be instructed from a pulpit that they are to obey the laws, or from a Jacobin.

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Club that they are not to obey them, because they had been made without their consent, they were equally precluded the power of thinking for themselves. The advocates for this instruction talked much of the progress of reason; but when they applied themfelves to ignorant minds, must not their reasoning be such as ignorant minds only can comprehend, and ought not the progress of fuch reason to be prevented? It was faid, that inquiry was the road to truth, and perhaps the fact, generally fpeaking, might be allowed: but then it was inquiry flowing into its own channels, and feeking its proper course. If asked to make a distinction between what is libellous and what is not, in recommending a Republic in a general treatife, or in these publications, Mr. Wyndham confessed that he did not conceive it possible to make fuch distinction. Where the gradations of shades are so nice, that it is impossible to draw a line of separation between them, there could be no precise rule of judgment. This was the fact with regard to homicide, which may be innocent on some occafions, though highly criminal in others; and the same principle must be applied to libels, the culpability of which could be estimated only by the particular circumstances of the case. There must be a discretionary power lodged somewhere; it was better that this discretionary power should be abused, than that it should not exist: and the proper hands in which it ought to be placed, were those of Juries. Did the government of France, even in their theory (for their theory and practice were widely different), pretend to fay that all men were justified in writing what they pleased? Whatever latitude they might give to the publication of speculative opinions, they certainly did not avow fo dangerous a doctrine. Opinions, Mr. Wyndham observed, were not bad in themselves, if suffered to operate in the ordinary They would then excite the attention of those who can way. form a proper judgment, their effects would arise from the approbation of rational beings, and if they produced any change in the general conduct of mankind, it would be because they had funk from the top to the bottom of fociety by their own weight. If the case were otherwise, they would circulate only among philosophers, and do no great injury to the community at large. It was not the truth, but the mischief, of speculative opinions that called for punishment. The Hon. Gentleman had spoken with some contempt of the idea of the "divine right" of Kings, as being equally worthy punishment, with their speculative opinions. Such an expression was doubtless filly, but at this time it ought not to excite profecutions, because it was too. generally exploded to become mischievous. It was true, that the professed intention of some of these societies was to correct only the abuses of the British Constitution; but if they were

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pushed close to an explanation of those intentions, it would appear that they wished to extend the correction of those abuses to the abolition of both King and Lords, and then perhaps they would rest satisfied with their reform. But even if they were to attend only to modelling the House of Commons on their own plan, and to retain the existence of King and Lords, they would still obtain a Constitution very different from the British. Constitution. The boldest opinions had been avowed on this subject; a House of Commons, representative of both men and women, and a variety of other plans equally novel and impracticable, had been suggested. As to the affairs of France, he was forry to differ from the Hon. Gentleman relative to the interference of the Duke of Brunswick. He thought that the interference of the Duke of Brunswick would have prevented much evil; and he had no right to judge of the motives of the combined powers; but let their motives be ever so bad, he thought that the fuccess of their operations would have put an end to evils that were much worse. The Right Hon. Gentleman had talked much of the injustice of any interference in the affairs of France; but had not the triumph of France over such interference proved a powerful stimulus to the efforts of the societies in this country? Had not France herfelf interfered with other countries? If her interference with the government of the Emperor be queftionable, what could we fay of that with Sardinia, with Avignon, with Savoy, with Geneva? Had not the National Convention declared that they wished to give freedom to all mankind? and what construction could be placed on this expression, but that of an offer of affiftance to the difaffected men of all other countries? A small number of these men gathered together, would be sufficient to establish a claim of assistance, where an opportunity co-operates with factious intentions. It was well known that the Manchester Society held a correspondence with the Jacobin Club, for the benefit of the Constitution of both nations; and would fuch a fociety, on a favourable occasion, hefitate to bring an army into this country?—they, who now affected to consider themselves as too trifling a number to excite alarm, or justify precautions. Each particular tumult, or individual circumstance of apprehension, taken separately, might appear trivial; but when the daring attempts to excite a spirit of rebellion were confidered, with all its combinations, and under all its different forms, he could not, for one, withhold his hearty approbation of the measures which had been adopted. As to the necessity of an inquiry by Parliament into the grounds of those measures, he conceived that there could be no doubt in the mind of any man, and that nothing could be more inftantaneoully. (landal)

stantaneously evident than the sense of Parliament on that oc-

Mr. GREY faid that he was ready to meet his Honourable Friend on any of the three topics of discussion, whether the danger of the country, or the necessity of the measures that had been adopted, or the first legality of the conduct of Ministers. With regard to the subject of Republicanism, he thought Republicans had existed at every period of our history, but he conceived that they had very little influence over the public mind. If we were in circumstances of danger, that danger had arisen only from the misconduct of Administration.—His Honourable Friend, Mr. Grey faid, had not made fufficient diffinction between the alarm in this country, and the real dangers; nor did he believe that there was any real danger whatever, except that which existed in his own imagination. It was an observation of Mr. Hume, that the report of plots were to common a trick with the mafters of politics, that on this subject infidelity alone was a fign of grace: and fuch was precifely the fact with regard to the present republican plot. From such a plot no danger could possibly be apprehended, fince the people of this country could never be fo perverse as to wish to change the bleffings which they at present enjoy for the miseries of popular commetion. Mr. Grey condemned the measures which had been adopted for the suppression of Mr. Paine's pamphlet, as injudicious on the part of government, but at the same time that he disclaimed all approbation of the particular fystem of its author, he did not scruple to agree with him so far in his general principles, as to affert that all good governments were founded on no other balis than the Rights of Man. The rights of men were the advantages which were recognifed by the free principles of their governments, and these rights, in this country, were accorded by the British Constitution. That Constitution needed no other correction than a temperate Reform, and he still persisted in the intentions which he had stated last Session on the subject, convinced that it was only by bringing the Constitution to its original purity that it could be rendered the object of effect to all who lived under it, and fecured from the fear of any invidious efforts of foreign or domestic enemies. With regard to the probability of a war with France, he (Mr. Gray faid) should not vote away the money of his conflituents to support such a war, until he was well fatisfied with the grounds on which it had been undertaken. He doubted the fact of any infurrection at home. A Proclamation had been iffued on the 21st of May lest, on the subject of a seditious pamphlet: that pamphlet was then readwith the utmost avidity: ministers had passed away their time fupinely,

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Supinely, Mr. Pitt all the summer enjoying the comforts of a finecure place at Wandsworth, and Mr. Dundas the fruits of his popularity in Scotland; and now the country was fuddenly alarmed by military preparations. If ministers, therefore, did not explain the motives of their conduct, they would merit the feverest censure; and he for one should feel himself bound to

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Mr. DUNDAS faid, that in the course of the debate various things had been uttered, fome of which gave him great fatisfaction, and others aftonished him more than any thing he had ever heard before. Those to which he alluded as having afforded him latisfaction, were the affertions proving the necessity of the preparations that had been made against those who would attempt any change in the radical principles of the conflictution. With regard, however, to the fentiments which had fallen from a Right Hon. Gentleman concerning the free publicacation of opinions, if fuch fentiments were true, why were those unfortunate natives of his own country, who had ventured to affert the right of the Stuart family, to continue on the throne of Great Britain, punished with death? or why had that Right Hon. Gentleman himself prosecuted the author of a pamphlet for having libelled the House of Commons? or why did the legislature of his favourite country permit no man to make a motion in favour of royalty? A doctrine of fo unqualified an extent, was indeed impracticable under any government whatever? What he complained of, however, Mr. Dundas faid, was that libels had been published, attacking the very constitution of this country; and that questions had been proposed in fome of the affociations, which struck at the root of government itself. It had been faid in those affociations, " Parliament ought not to be petitioned on the subject of reform: it is corrupt throughout: it altered the term of its duration from three years to feven: it cares not for your rights, and you must affert them yourself." He would not, for one, oppose their favourite principles of liberty and equality, if maintained only according to the rational meaning of the words: but he knew perfectly well that they spoke of liberty and equality in the widest fense. The Proclamation against which so much had been objected, did not appear till the pamphlet of Mr. Paine had been fold at a cheaper price, and diffeminated with dangerous industry among the lower class of people: and it was strange indeed that the danger should be afferted to have been produced by the minister! Mr. Dundas stated, that long before the foldiery were embodied, the people throughout the country had expressed their alarm at these leditious opinions; and previous to his coming to town, he had heard it regretted again and again, that government had not

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taken measures to suppress their propagation. A system was evidently established for subverting the constitution of this country, and pamphlets published, holding out the example of France, who had levelled all distinctions of rank,—who had overthrown her monarchy and aristocracy,—as a pattern for this country. Affiliated focieties instituted amongst us, had maintained a correspondence with those in France, and sent persons to receive instructions, for no other apparent purpose, than that of destroying our form of government. Dangerous doctrines were addressed, in every mode, to every class of people, and their passions and prejudices appealed to with such address, that government was loudly called upon to use every means to prevent the practical mischief, which must otherwise have resulted from fuch proceedings. With regard to foreign parts, Mr. Dundas observed, that there was too much reason to believe that the National Convention of France countenanced every man who adopted their principles, and wished to make the people distatiffied with the government of their own country. Mr. Dundas then read extracts from addresses, signed by the Constitutional Societies of Manchester and Norwich, and the Whig Club and Friends of the People, for the purpose of proving his affertions; and declared that the decree of fraternity was nothing more than a declaration of a readiness to aid the people of every country diffatisfied with their form of government in the acquisition of their liberty. But England already enjoyed her liberty, and that liberty confifted in a government by King, Lords, and Commons. He stated, that when Frankfort was conquered, fome mendicants were heard at the bar of the Convention, and that one of their charges against their rulers was, that they fanctioned the publication of an aristocratic newspaper! Savoy had been attacked without provocation, and France had given what was called liberty to that country. With regard to Holland, every neutral power, he faid, had a right to prevent others paffing through her territories, Mr. Dundas hoped that an affertion, which had fallen from the Right Honourable Gentleman, implying that the Dutch would have no objection to the opening of the Scheldt was true; but it would be well to recollect, that France had agreed, by virtue of a treaty with the Emperor, to guard the right of Holland to keep the Scheldt shut, that the Dutch enjoyed this right ever fince the treaty of Munster, and that this country were bound to aid them in so doing, It was, indeed, our paramount duty to teach Holland by experience of our fidelity, that it was better for them to be connected with us than with any other powerful country. An Hon. Gentleman. had thought proper to flate that the idea of an infurrection at home was a fiction; but the minds of the people had been in a outet.

ferment for some time, and infurrections had taken place at Shields, Salifbury, and many other places, and the magistrates obliged to call for the aid of the militia. At Dundee the bells had been rung, the tree of liberty planted, and bills posted up, with the words on them-" No King; No Excise." All this was before the foldiery had been called out. The mere circumstance of planting a tree, might in itself be a matter of no great harm or danger; but when it was confidered that this tree was a badge of certain principles, and that those principles were differninated in every way, it was evident that it became neceffary to have a force, which better defended the property of the country, and which was the more defirable, fince it was but lately that there had appeared any chance of a foreign war. Mr. Dundas wished those who had accused the executive government of departing from the letter of the law, to consider, that they had strictly kept to the spirit of it, and coincided with the feelings of the merchants and other respectable characters. wished the Hon. Gentleman had not alluded to the state of Ireland, of the legislature of which he was no member, and begged to be excused from entering into the subject of Russia and Poland, otherwise than to observe, that if there had not been such a division in that house on the subject of the Russian war, Poland probably would have escaped her present fate. -- In the course of his speech, Mr. Dundas alluded, with much regret. to any loss that his popularity might have suffered in Scotland.

Mr. FOX rose to explain. He said that he had never laid it down that libels, but only that speculative opinions on government, ought not to be prosecuted. The libel he had prosecuted was not a speculative opinion, but a positive reflection on the character and conduct of the House of Commons; and he would say, that if a libel were now published reflecting on the character and conduct of the King, or the character and conduct of the House of Lords, that libel ought likewise to suffer prosecution. When he spoke of Ireland, he expressed himself without any reference to her parliamentary independence: what he had said, was meant as a lesson to ourselves, and he thought that the more frankness was maintained on the subject, the better would the event prove for both countries. On the subject of Poland, he prosessed himself ready, at any time, to meet the Right Hon.

Gentleman in discussion.

Mr. SHERIDAN, having stated that he thought Gentlemen would allow that the society to which he had the honour to belong, spurned the idea of passing by the power of the Parliament for the purpose of reforming the abuses of our government through the organ of a National Convention, declared if such a convention were nominated by the free yote of every man in the country,

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country, he firmly believed they would express no other wish than for the constitution which had been transmitted to us by the virtue of our ancestors. But he trusted that there existed in this country a firm let of men, who would not fuffer the errors and abuses of that constitution to be held as facred as the constitution itself. The imputation contained in the Speech, Mr. Sheridan considered as highly unjust. It was the crown prefering a bill to the grand inquest of the nation against the loyalty of the people.—That bill was not a true one. An Hon. Gentleman who had produced the Address had also mentioned the decree of fraternity, and feemed to infer from his having exulted over the fall of the old French despotism, that formidable enemy to this country, that he approved of all the events that had happened in France. That was an unfair inference, and he, for his part, could fafely fay, that he detested that decree. The address from Rochester was certainly a joke upon the National Convention, and those from the societies were too infignificant for ferious notice. Of the riot at Salifbury the Hon. Gentleman had been completely misinformed, and that at Dundee was foon quelled; but what had been done fince the foldiers were embodied and the tower fortified, because there had been a riot at Dundee in Scotland? As to the Hon. Gentleman's popularity, he was glad that he now prized it more than he had done last year, but he ought not to wonder, that it had been diminished, when he resected that Scotland had in vain petitioned for fix years for a reform in Parliament. As to the affairs in France, though he was convinced that their plan of government could not be attempted here without producing misery, he thought that any minister ought to be impeached who should pay an English guinea, or spill a drop of English blood, to establish despotism in that country.

Mr. T. GRENVILLE was defirous to concur in the amendment, because he thought that serious consequences might

otherwise arise from an exaggeration of danger.

Mr. BURKE congratulated the chief magistrate of the city of London for his conduct on the present occasion, and passed an eulogium on the services which the city of London had at different times rendered that monarchy, under whose auspices it had risen to its present opulence and grandeur. He adverted to what had been said by an Hon. Gentleman relative to the terms of the Speech being a calumny on the people, and said that he could only compare the Hon. Gentleman to Cicero, but that if Cicero had declared a conspiracy to exist for the capture of Rome and the burning of her temples, it would not have been a libel on the Roman people, but on Catiline. He spoke with great warmth on the subject of the affairs of France; said that the dissolution

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diffolution of one Baftile had engendered an hundred maggorting Bastiles; and asked whether the Members of that House would wish to see their sons, like the patriots of France, murderers and regicides! He ridiculed the conduct of the French Convention in accepting the conquest of Savoy, under the idea that nature had connected their territory, and spoke of the probable lity of this country fuffering by a fimilar compliance. He derided the deputation from this country which appeared at their bar, but stated in strong terms, that he trembled at the danger to be expected from their treachery ... With regard to the prefent business, the question was not whether the Address should be presented to the throne, but whether there should be any throne at all. France would gain the empire of the whole carefi unless we interfered in the affair of Holland; and he trembled for the effect of the forces of France, not so much lest we should suffer in some paltry article of trade, as that our morals should be tainted, and that we should lose all genuine integrity Right Hon. Charles James Fox and manly picty.

Mr. ANSTRUTHER spoke against the amendment to

Mr. HUSSEY stated that there had been no not in Salisbury. A journeyman printer at a public house, having drank the health of Thomas Paint, and d-d the King, was delivered into custody: but the foldiery arrived at Salisbury after this event. and not at the requisition of any magistrate whatever. Who had Mr. DUNDAS and Sir G. YONGE explained the reason

for which the foldiery had been fent to Salisbury in America.

Mr. HUSSEY repeated that it was not at the requisition of

any magistrate in the county.

Hon. Lionel Damer Sir JAMES ERSKINE SINCLAIR spoke of some contradiction in the opinions which Mr. Burke had held a few years ago, and had avowed at prefent, respecting France, and thought that the best answer that government could return to the difcontents of the people, would be a true representation of them in parliament in 755 Liadier ivores, bla.

Colonel MILEOD faid, that the riot in Dundee was nothing elfe than the cultomary sports of boys, none of them were more

than fixteen years of age.

Mr. W. SMITH defended the French from the charge of distributing money for seditious purposes in this country, and declared, that the English constitution was the last constitution on earth which they wished to alter. As Mr. Borke had expressed a doubt as to the possibility of our ever receiving an ambaffador from France at our court, he asked him to refer to the mode in which Cromwell's amballador was received at the court of Louis the fourteenth, and accused him of intentional mifrepresentation in speaking as if the French government was in the hands of the promoters of the massacres in Paris. The fact was Lanoull otherwise.

otherwife, Mr. Smith observed, and he vindicated the Protestant differenters from the charge of difaffection, by reading their Advertilement, owner to extend out out and right and differ

The ATTORNEY GENERAL stated the different modes which feditions persons had adopted in order to work on the minds of the lower orders of people, by posting up bills, dropping letters down the areas of houses, &c. He stated, in reply to some expressions that had dropped from Sir James Erskine Sinclair, that fo far from having been remis in his duty relative to seditious publications, he had filed no less than two hundred informations.

Here, the question, the question, was loudly and repeatedly called for; and the house having fat till four o'clock in the morning, the question was put; and the house divided, 200 for the address, and so against it. Majority for the ministry 240.

The following is a correct lift of the MINORITY in the above

figuld fusier in tome palmy article of trade, as that our notivib

menters, land out the Sit for us of heart Right Hon. Charles James Fox Westminster James Box Charles Grey, Efq. Northumberland Richard Brinfley Sheridan, Efg. Stafford Stafford Right Hon Lord G. A. H. Cavendish Derby manyanting A Lord Edward Bentinck Nottinghamshire Lord John Ruffell de state de Jovieta ve Taviltock ted : victure Lord William Ruffell thom was to a Surrey of self to you one Earl of Wycomb Viscount Milton dillas of the need by Malton of out nordy and Hon. T. Erskine and and in the Portsmouth Hon. Lionel Damer Hon. T. Maitland Stall Sedburgh, &cc. George Byng, Efq. Middlefex of middlefex William Huffey, Efq. Salifbury bad bas of John Crewe, Efg. To the Cheshire and The William Baker, Efg. and and how Hertfordshire and and or Dudley North, Efq. Great Grimfby salled mi John Courtenay, Eig. 15 1 1 1 1 Tamworth 120010 John Shaw Stuart, Efq. and to and Renfrewshire and shall Sir Henry Fletcher, Bart. Cumberland Hon. Richard Bingham St. Alban's J. N. Edwards, Efq. Rutlandshire John Lee, Efq. A San Land Higham Ferrers bareland William Adam, Efq. Rolsshire Rolsshire William Plumer, Efq. De Milliam Hertfordshire Henry Howard, Efq. In ad alternative Arundel I most robethal Right Hon. Lord Robert Spencer Whareham da an all and an all an all and an all an Philip Francis, Efq. and believe has Blechingly and a roll to James Martin, Efq. Tewkfbury William Smith, Efq. and Lan and Camelford of to should otherwise.

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Members. Thomas Thompson, Esq. B. Tarleton, Efq. Hon. St. Andrew St. John Charles Sturt, Esq. Benjamin Vaughan, Esq. Cunliffe Shaw, Efq. R. S. Milnes, Efq. Edward Bouverie, Efq. Thomas Grenville, Efq. Aldborough Roger Wilbraham, Efq. John Wharton, Efq. Samuel Whitbread, jun. Elq. Bedford
Norman Macleod, Elq. Invernesshire Joseph Jekyll, Esq. Thomas Whitmore, Esq. Joseph Jekyll, Esq. Sir John Aubrey, Bart. Sir John Jervis, K. B. Chipping Wycombe J. R. Burch, Efq. John Harcourt, Efg. M. A. Taylor, Efq. W. H. Lambton, Eig. Tellers.

Sit for Everham Liverpool Bedfordshire Bridport Calne Preston York Northampton Bodmyn Beverley Tavistock Calne Bridgnorth Clitherow Thetford Ilchefter Poole was a was all as Durham

DECEMBER 14.

The LORD MAYOR (Sir James Sanderson) brought up

the report on the address.

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Mr. FOX rose, he said, to move an amendment. But as a debate would probably follow his motion, which must be confidered a continuation of the debate of yesterday, he should avail himself of that opinion, to make some observations upon different arguments that had been urged against him in the course of the debate of yesterday, and to which he was not then at liberty to reply, as the order of the day would not allow him to speak twice on the fame fubject. Some gentlemen had blamed him for having proposed an amendment to the address, and called for a division upon it, when it was extremely defirable that the proceedings of the house should be marked with unanimity. To this his answer was, that he acted according to his judgment, and conformably both to his own opinion, and a strong sense of duty; whilft those who blamed him acknowledged that this vote and this opinion were at variance, and that they had facrificed the latter to a wish to see the address carried unanimously. Such conduct might be well meant, but however it might excite furprise in him, it could not induce him to imitate it. The inconfiftency of those who blamed him on this head was very striking indeed; they censured in pointed terms the King's ministers for

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the neutrality which they had hitherto observed respecting France; and he cenfured them also for the same thing, but from a very different motive. The former faid, that Ministers ought to have fooner taken the alarm, and fooner interpoled to guard against the ambitious designs of France. He also was of opinion, that they should have armed sooner, but not for the purpose of joining the general confederacy against the French, but of counteracting it. They should have armed the instant they heard that the two great military powers of Germany had confederated, and refolved to enter France; they should have opposed any such invasion, because it would have been productive of great injury to England and to other states, had it been attended with success. Thus there was one thing in common between him and those who blamed him for his amendment, viz. that both condemned, though with different views, the neutrality which ministers had hitherto observed; but yet, when both were called upon to act upon their opinions, he was aftonished that the gentlemen to whom he alluded, however strongly they had reprobated the neutrality in the course of their speeches, had, by a strange inconfiftency, agreed to vote thanks for the very measure which they had thus condemned.

It had been urged against him, that from his conduct it would feem that he was not an enemy to the aggrandifement of France, because he would not consent to an immediate war for opposing it. He was surprised not a little, when he considered the quarter from which this observation had come (Mr. Burke). had on a former occasion, heard that Right Hon. Gentleman speak of France as rendered incapable by the Revolution of raising her head, or giving her neighbours any uneafiness; as a country no longer to be found upon the map, but that had been fwept away, and had left behind a great chafm in Europe; he had heard him fay, that for the future it would be only by history that England should know, Gallos olim bello floruisse. Now the style of that gentleman was changed, and nothing but a general confederacy could check the growing energy of a nation, deriving strength from liberty, and become infinitely more formidable than ever she had been at any former period. Certainly, Mr. Fox faid, he was far from being a friend to the aggrandifement of France; but in opposing it, he would take care to have justice on his fide. Had he been minister, when Prussia and Austria resolved to invade that country, he certainly would have armed England, and told those powers that they had no right to enter France. Had this been done, the English through such a step would have acquired such an influence in the councils of the French, as would most probably have prevented any attack upon Holland. Had he omitted to arm at that period, he certainly would

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would have armed for the fafety of Holland, the moment the Duke of Brunswick was obliged to retreat. On that occasion his Majesty's Ministers were, in his opinion, criminally supine; and instead of being thanked for their neutrality, they ought to be impeached for it. There was a rumour, but whether well founded or not, he could not pretend to fay, that after the retreat of the Duke of Brunswick, our ministers caused it to be fignified to France, that they would not oppose the intended invasion of Flanders and Brabant, but that they could not stand by the unconcerned spectators of any attempt against Holland. This, no doubt, was a curious proceeding; for it was telling the French that they must not presume to do any thing which might endanger that Republic, but that they were at perfect liberty to make themselves masters of that barrier, by which it might be covered This furely was as much as to fay, that they and protected. might take the outworks, the gates and the ramparts of a town, but they must not think of taking the town itself. ministers interposed before the conquest of Flanders and Brabant was completed by the battle of Jemappe, some arrangement might possibly have been made, by which, though the French might have been gainers, the fafety of Holland might have been fecured: Such an arrangement he feared was now no longer poffible.

He had been blamed for having introduced Ireland into the debate, which, it is faid, was an irregularity, as the was now an independent country, and not subject to the controll of the British Parliament. That she was independent of it, he was ready to admit; but that he was irregular in mentioning the flate of Ireland in the debates, he begged leave to deny. England and Ireland, though perfectly diffinct in point of legislature, were connected by a community of interests; and furely when there was question of a foreign war, it was not irregular in a Member to confider the means and refources of the Empire at large for carving it on: in fuch a case Ireland must naturally occur to his memory, and he must consider what affistance might be expected to be derived from her in the hour of danger. quantum of that affiltance was to be alcertained by her own Parliament; and he made no doubt but the generolity of that spirited country would, as it had always done, be ready to afford aid to the full extent of its power. But furely prudence required that Ministers should consider whether Ireland was in such a state, as that any affistance at all could be expected from her: Whether she felt disturbances, whether they were well tounded, and whether they might not eafily be removed. The French had often afferted that all the governments in Europe were their enemies, and all the people their friends. It was pretty H 2

evident that the former part of the affertion was but too well founded in truth; he trusted that the latter would be found false. But perhaps it might be otherwise if it ran this way, " that all the people who were deprived of the bleffings of liberty were their friends." If this was to be applied to Ireland, there would furely be cause for alarm: for there the bulk of the people, according to fome nine tenths, according to others five fixths, to a certainty by the lowest calculation, three fourths, were absolutely in a state of slavery, having no share whatever in the Government or Legislature; a complete disfranchisement being the lot and badge of so considerable a portion of the community! That a people so circumstanced should be friends to those who would restore them to liberty, would not be surprising; but it must excite the astonishment and indignation of all England, if his Majesty's Ministers should omit any thing in their power, by which so great a temptation should be taken away from the Catholics of Ireland, as that they should have to make an option between flavery and a connection with England,

or liberty and a separation from her. When the nation was about to enter into a war, it ought also to consider attentively, whether the Ministers, who were to conduct it, were fuch as were most likely to conduct it with advantage to the country. That the present Ministers of England were of that description, no one would be hardy enough to affirm, who recollected their conduct in the business of Spain and Russia. The former had offered our slag a direct infult, and yet no adequate fatisfaction had been made for it, nor even compensation for the pecuniary losses sustained by our subjects on that oceasion. The same Ministers blustered in their negociations with Ruffia, and infifted that she should restore her conquests to the Porte, and make peace with that power on the principle of the status quo; but after much blustering, these selffame Ministers left the Empress in peaceable possession of her conquests, and shewed to all Europe that their insolence could be equalled by their abject concessions and subsequent humiliation. It was pretty evident from these circumstances, that their threatenings would have little effect upon France or any other power. It was next to be confidered, whether our allies would place much confidence in them? After they had abandoned the King of Prussia in the contests with Russia, it was not to be supposed that he would ever trust them. What then could be expected from Ministers, who possessed not the means of raising, in any power in Europe, either hope or fear, the two grand ingredients in all treaties and negociations? There was another very material confideration, and that was whether we could truit our allies? If the King of Prussia could not trust the pre-

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fent Ministers, it was not to be prefumed that they could well trust him.

The retreat of the Duke of Brunswick was certainly a singular, and in the opinion of many, a very mysterious event, which he would not pretend to explain; but there were not wanting persons who considered that retreat as the effect not of necessity, but of an agreement; and he must allow that there were some circumstances which gave grounds for such an opinion. General Dillon had published the substance of a conference between him and the Prussian General Kalkreuth, in which the latter is stated to have manifested a disposition to an alliance between his Master and France; and to have gone so far as to have affigned as a reason why the King his Master had not abandoned the cause of the Austrians, that when two travellers had agreed to perform a journey together, neither ought to quit the other till the journey was completed; by which he implied that the campaign being once over, the King of Pruffia would not feel himself much disposed to begin another. On the continuance, therefore, of that Prince's hostility to France, or his hearty co-operation with England, very little reliance could be placed.—Did the case stand better with the Emperor? It was generally understood that jealousies, doubts, and mutual mistrusts existed between him and the King of Prussia; a cordial co-operation between them was therefore little to be expected.-How did the Emperor stand towards England? Was it possible that he could wish us well after we had fignified to France that the might, without any opposition on our part, make herself mistress of the Austrian Netherlands?—Undoubtedly not; and yet it was by his affiftance, and that of Pruffia, that we could hope to be able to oppose France with any prospect of success. Allies thus combining their forces, without a mutual regard and confidence, might be any thing but formidable to an enemy.

Holland was to be the oftenfible cause of the war; it was fit that it should be considered in what degree she would have it in her power to contribute to the support of it. It was well known that there was in that country a powerful party opposed to the Stadtholder, who, of course, would not be disposed to co-operate very heartily with England, the friend of that Prince, and against France, with whom that party had hitherto been connected. It might be faid, indeed, that as the opening of the Scheldt would affect that party, and particularly the city of Amsterdam, where it was strongest, or might be expected that in this war both the enemies and friends of the Stadtholder would heartily co-operate in a cause in which they had a common ininterest; but little dependence was to be placed on this; for the rooted antipathy to the Stadtholder, which the former as it were inherited from their ancestors, might make them risk even their own interest to accomplish the abolition of the office of Stadt-holder. An instance of such proceeding appeared in Brabant, where the nobility and clergy both detested the principles of the French Revolution, from which the latter, whose possessions are as considerable as any in Europe, had of course every thing to sear; and yet both Clergy and Nobility had agreed to receive the French, whose principles they held in abhorrence, because they

abhorred still more the voke of Austria.

Mr. Fox next confidered the state of Great Britain, which, if truly represented by those who said that the lower classes of people were discontented, was not such as ought to encourage a minister to go to war, for it was precisely from those classes that men were to be drawn to man our ships of war, and recruit our land forces. It had been faid, that these people were discontented, because they were led aftray by doctrines which they did not understand, and designing and evil minded persons practifed upon their inexperience. But how came it that in Scotland the lower classes of the people were still more discontented? It was not because they were more ignorant and uninformed than in England; for it was univerfally admitted, that they were, in general, much better informed than their English fellow subjects. If then they were discontented, it was because they felt grievances, and because they were able to reason upon them, and compare what they were, with what they might be. Upon the whole, he was for discouraging the idea of a war, whilst there was a possibility of avoiding it. For this purpose he would wish to have negociation precede hostility; and therefore he would move, either that day or the next, an Address to the King, praying that he would acknowledge the French Republic, fend a minister to it, and receive one from it. A Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Burke) had faid yesterday, What are we to receive, an Ambassador reeking with the blood of innocent men, and perhaps even that of the King of France? Mr. Fox's answer to this was, that should the French proceed to extremities against that unfortunate Prince, he would consider it as an act that would be for ever a difgrace to their nation, and which every man must deplore; but still he could not think that we were never to have any connection with France. All the powers in Europe courted the alliance of England after the execution of Charles the 1st, a Prince who certainly deserved death, if he deserved it at all, more than Louis XVI; they all detested the act, yet they fent ambassadors to Cromwell. He wished, that if ministers were resolved never to receive any from France, they would say so. He wished that if their objection to receive one at present was, that they did not know how to introduce a French minifter

ter into the King's drawing room, they would fairly avow it, to the end that the people of England might fee that their blood and treasure were to be facrificed to a mere punctilio. Gentlemen should recollect, that though it was once fashionable to talk of " a vagrant Congress," of " one Adams," of " Hancock and his crew," England had, in the end, been obliged to acknowledge the fovereignty and independence of the United States of America. The fame thing might happen with respect to the French Republic, and it would be better that we should fend a minister to France immediately on the meeting of Parliament, than perhaps after that event should have taken place, which he most earnestly deprecated, and which he should most heartily deplore (the execution of the King). Having dwelt long upon this, Mr. Fox moved the following Amendment to the Address.

" Befeeching his Majesty to employ every means of honour-" able negociation for the purpole of preventing a war with

" France.

Mr. SHERIDAN seconded the Motion. He said that he did it with a view to preserve peace if possible, and avoid a war. He wished that the people of England should see that nothing had been omitted to preferve them from the calamities of a war; and that they should be thoroughly convinced that nothing but inevitable necessity had induced their representatives to consent, at last, to hostilities. If war must take place, he would hope that, every step for avoiding it having been previously taken, the energies of the whole nation might be called forth to profecute it with vigour and effect, which would convince the world that the people of England were devoted to their Constitution, and would not suffer any nation to attempt to new model it. respect to the fate of the unfortunate great personage to whom allusion had been made, he believed it was no longer depending, he feared it was then decided. No confideration now remained, but that of trying whether war might be averted by negociation; if it could not, then he was fure that a fense of duty would destroy all party distinctions, and make men of every defcription come forward in a cause, which would undoubtedly involve not only the fafety of that Constitution which they all loved, but even the independence and very existence of Great Britain. He feared that ministers did not act on this occasion without referve; what made him fear this was that paffage in the King's Speech, in which his Majesty was made thus to speak -- " And it is a great consolation to me, to reflect that you will find ample resources for effectually defraying the expence of vigorous preparation, from the excels of the actual revenue, beyond the ordinary expenditure." Mr. Sheridan faid, he knew that there was no fuch excess, and therefore he feared that

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this was intended only as a gentle way of breaking to the people the demands which would foon follow for ample supplies.

Mr. BURKE, confidering it is admitted that France must not be permitted to open the Scheldt, and that the must also be either induced by negociation, or compelled by arms, to restore the conquests she had made, thought it a very extraordinary way of effecting either purpole, to represent our internal situation as rotten, and our allies not to be depended on. With regard to our internal fituation, he esteemed it far from being rotten, though the Constitution was certainly affailed by persons, whose activity, if not checked in time, may be likely to endanger it. As to the fidelity of our allies, if it was not now to be relied on, furely Mr. Fox did not take the best mode of confirming it, by acknowledging the fovereignty, and entering into negociations with the new Republic of France, their most inveterate enemy. But, supposing the policy of such negociation, were we sure that the French would come to any reasonable terms with us? And yet this was the contingency for which we were to renounce our present friends, the ancient and established governments of Europe. This abominable government had not yet been recognised by any other power. And what was the peculiar time when we were defired to address an Ambassador to them? At the very moment, perhaps, when the merciless savages had their hands red with the blood of a murdered Sovereign; thus giving fanction to an act which barbarians would condemn, giving currency to the crime of regicide, and affording a prelude to the murder of our own Sovereign.

It had for some time been the fashion in the House to quote him as an author, from a book he wrote upon the Revolution in France; and in doing so this evening, Mr. Fox fell into a practice that has been purfued before him by Mr. Mackintosh and other writers of less eminence-namely, taking a detache, paffage, without explaining it by what followed or went beford it. The practical form of a free government, as quoted, did noe express fully his ideas of liberty. What he meant by libertyt was, that he should be suffered to enjoy life as long as the Almighty permitted him-that his person should be free while he conformed to the laws-that he should not be disturbed in the exercise of his religion—and that he should be left at the full enjoyment and disposal of his property, whether inherited or acquired by his industry. If he was protected to the free exercise of all these, as was the case in England, he must think himself in the possession of rational freedom: and this, though not a

definition, was at least an inventory of freedom.

The extravagance of Anacharsis Cloots, in wishing to embrace China, Quebec, Bulam, and in short all the world, in the confraternity

confraternity of France, was not peculiar to him, but was also entertained by all the members of the affembly. This Cloots, he faid, was an old acquaintance and correspondent of his, being very respectably introduced to him, and had no small share in producing the French Revolution. In June 1790, this man appeared at the bar of the National Affembly, accompanied by men of all nations, Afiatic, African, and European, of which latter the English made no inconsiderable part. There, as orator of the human race, he invoked for them all the protection and confraternity of France, and was received with the loudest acclamations; and this happened on the very day when the Af-

fembly demolished, by a decree, the nobility of France.

The French Republic was fui generis, and bore no analogy to any other that ever existed in the world. It therefore did not follow that we ought to recognize it, merely because different powers in Europe had recognized the Republic of England under Oliver Cromwell. England at that time did not attempt to turn all the states of Christendom into Republics; it did not wage war with fovereigns; it professed no principle of profelytism; and therefore, whatever neighbouring nations might have to expect at that time from her friendship, they had nothing to fear for the existence of thrones. The same might be said of America. But France wanted to make profelytes to her opinions, and turn every government in the world into a Republic. If every government was against her, it was because she had declared herfelf hostile to every government. He knew of nothing to which this strange Republic could be compared, but to the lystem of Mahomet, who with the Koran in one hand, and a fword in the other, held out the former to the acceptance of mankind, and with the latter compelled them to adopt it as their creed. The Koran which France held out, was the declaration of the Rights of Man, and universal fraternity; and with the fword the was determined to propagate her doctrines, and conquer those whom she could not convince. He by no means wished to hurry the nation into a war. He wanted to make the people fee that France had really declared war against them, and that the two States might be considered as actually engaged in it. France had paffed a variety of decrees, every one of which might tairly be confidered as a declaration of war against every government. She had refolved to wage an eternal war against kings and kingly government; and she had actually received Englishmen at the bar of the Convention, whom, in contempt of the King and Parliament, the professed to consider as the representatives of the people of England. Was this no provocation?

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Was this no infult? Was this no attack upon the government of Great Britain? He entreated gentlemen, who were disposed to countenance new doctrines in England, to take warning by the fate of the virtuous Duke de la Rouchefoucauld. That nobleman, of ancient lineage and princely fortune, who was adorned by every virtue, was leduced by the arts of Condorcet to countenance the Revolution. He was vested with a high office of Magistracy, under the new Constitution; and because he was not disposed to go all the lengths of wicked men who found means to raife themselves to power, he was obliged to fly for his life; he was purfued, and in the midst of his own tenants, who had experienced the bounty and munificence of his family, was forced from his carriage, from between his mother and his wife, and in their presence inhumanly butchered. To all the wellmeaning advocates for new doctrines, he would hold up the bleeding head of the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, whom all his virtues could not rescue from the hands of murderers, who feared neither God nor man.-Mr. Burke next touched upon Ireland. He faid he was attached to that country, because it had given him birth; to England he was bound by the strongest ties of gratitude and love: and should so great a calamity ever happen as a dispute between the two countries, it was with the latter, which was the country of his adoption, that he would take part. But he feared no fuch event; the wisdom of the Parliament of Ireland would point out the necessity of freeing a great majority of that kingdom from grievances under which they were made to labour, not only without any good to the country, but to its general detriment. In the province of Ulfter, he faid, the people were chiefly descendants of Scotch and English Colonists; they were for the most part Protestants, it was true, but at the same time they were Diffenters. In two counties there they were superior in numbers to the Catholics; but in the other provinces, the latter were ten to one. Upon an average of the whole, the Catholics were at least four-fifths of the nation. They were now come forward to demand, not an innovation in the Constitution, but a restoration of it; the removal of an innovation. They called for a repeal of two Acts of Parliament, one of which paffed in the beginning of the late reign, which deprived them of the right of voting for Members of Parliament, which they had enjoyed up to that period; the other in the preceding reign, which deprived them of the right of ferving upon juries. These people proceeded in the best possible way to their emancipation, by petitions and by degrees; they did not ground their demands on the Rights of Man; if they did, he would certainly resist them; but simply on the

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right which they had, as citizens, to fhare in the bleffings of the existing constitution of their country; and in that light their claims appeared so well founded, as to be in his mind irrefishible.

Mr. FOX rose to explain, and in strong terms charged Mr. Burke with having misrepresented him, for the purpose of aiding the cry of his being disloyal.

Mr. BURKE replied, that the charge was as false as it was foul; he had not said, or implied disloyalty to the Right Hon. Gentleman, but had afferted what he was convinced of, viz. that if the measure proposed by that Right Hon. Gentleman should be adopted, its effects would lead ultimately to the destruction of the King.

Mr. YORKE declared himself astonished at the opposition made to the Address, for the purpose of weakening the executive power, at a time when the country was threatened by sedition within, and by insult without: but though eloquence and abilities might be found on the other side of the House, Mr. Yorke said, he would not look there for patriotism, moderation, or candour. The measures taken by administration appeared to him to be justified by prudence and a regard to public safety, and if the sword should be drawn, he hoped, and was convinced, that we had not yet sallen to that state in which France might bully us with impunity. He declared himself against the amendment.

Mr. ADAM rose immediately after Mr. Yorke, and said, that before he entered upon the great and momentous subject of debate then depending, rendered more momentous if possible by the manner in which Mr. Burke had treated it, from calling in aid the passions and prejudices of men to the subject of their deliberation, he was under the necessity of faying a few words in reply to fomething of a nature rather extraordinary, which had fallen from Mr. Yorke. That Hon. Gentleman, Mr. Adam faid, had thrown out an imputation, accompanied with a compliment; the imputation, Mr. Adam faid, was as groundless as the compliment was just. He had said that a person only had to go to that fide—the opposition fide of the House—to find the most brilliant eloquence and powerful talents; but he could not differn either patriotism, candour, or moderation. Mr. Adam faid that he had but to look round him, and he faw eloquence never exceeded, and talents never furpaffed in the hiftory of the world. That whether the honourable and learned Gentleman (Mr. Yorke) would come across the House to add to them, he could not tell, but this he could affure that Honourable Gentleman, that he (Mr. Adam) was determined not to pals across the House to look for any thing that could be found there! but above all, he was determined not to look there for

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candour, moderation, and patriotism. That every part of the conduct of those who had for years directed his Majesty's councils, told him that those virtues were not to be found there, but they were to be found with those to whom the want of them had been imputed. If the learned Gentleman meant by moderation a phlegmatic coldness for the interests of their countryby candour, a base suppression of their opinions—by patriotism, a cowardly difinclination to face unfounded clamour, he was ready to allow that his Right Honourable Friend (Mr. Fox) who had all the qualities of heart and head that could diffinguish a man or a patriot, and his other friends round him, had neither candour, moderation, nor patriotism. But if those words bore their original meaning, he would try their right to them with that of any public man in this or any country. He had the happiness to enjoy the confidence, affection, and friendship of his Right Hon. Friend, Mr. Fox, and from the most intimate acquaintance, he could testify his motives to be as pure as his talents were exalted beyond those of other men. He faid that when he reflected on the vote of the preceding night, he faw in the character of that fmall minority enough to give him pleafure. The candour, moderation, and patriotifm of the Bentincks, the Russels, and the Cavendishes. That he rejoiced to find those names united now, as they had been formerly, in defence of the constitution, calling for information before they voted approbation, and infuring to the country the continuance of those bleffings which their ancestors had bestowed.

Mr. Adam faid, before he ventured to give his opinion, he must secure himself from misrepresentation, as it was almost fure to attack any one that gave the opinion he was going to give. It was supposed (by Mr. Burke) that difregard to property, looseness of morality, and every bad and vicious principle, was to be the consequence of this country negociating with France.—Mr. Adam faid, he confidered fuch an opinion as a libel upon the good sense and virtue of Englishmen; that if there were bad principles and vice, the information, the happiness, the liberty, the long enjoyment of a free constitution, that gave the people at large an opportunity of being taught by men of education and talents, fecured them. The fecurity of property, Mr. Adam faid, he confidered to be the fafeguard of all morals, and of every duty and obligation in focial and civil life. It protected the peafant in his cottage, as much as the prince in his palace; it bound and tied together the different ranks and degrees, and fecured liberty, while liberty, by reciprocally acting upon property, secured it. Therefore, nothing which he had to fay could mean to unhinge that or any other loyal or moral obligation,

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obligation. He faid, that there was a new and most dangerous doctrine taught by Mr. Burke—that fentiment and paffion, not fafety and fecurity, were to operate in national intercourse, Mr. Adam contended that the last only ought to be the confideration—that the first consideration of a government should be the fafety of the state; that that safety was secured by the information arising from agents in foreign courts—by negociations to prevent foreign war—the greatest, and, next to civil war, of all human calamities. He faid, that it was the bounden duty of the governors to use every means to avert that evil-but above all, never to allow take or passion to interfere with that important principle of national fafety; that upon this principle all wife nations had acted at all times; that during the contest of the Red and White Roses, the King de facto in this country had been treated with, as well as those de jure; that the Netherlands, when they threw off the yoke of Spain—the Seven United Provinces—Cromwell—had all been treated with. Why? Because that assemblage of men called a nation, whoever or whatever administered their affairs, became dangerous to neighbouring nations; and therefore the de facto governors were acknowledged, negociations entered into, and wars averted, by the wife policy of confidering the fafety of the state as the supreme law; not the paffion, or violence, or indignation, or difgust which might actuate. That besides this, if all was done that could be done by negociating, and nothing refulted, the whole nation would be fatisfied, and with one heart and one voice would encounter their difficulties; and by that bravery and spirit, the refult of rational freedom, we should maintain the fame for which we had always stood conspicuous among the nations of the earth; but that to rush wildly into a war, was what could never meet the approbation of any temperate or confiderate fet of men. Mr. Adam put these arguments in several different aspects, and then entered on fome observations respecting the amendment of the night before. He faid, amidst all the momentous and impending circumstances, there were some which had given him contolation; the manly and glorious stand made against the torrent of exaggerated alarm by his Right Hon. Friend (Mr. Fox); the universal expression of attachment to the constitution, proved the total falsehood of actual insurrection, which he afferted not merely upon the affertion, but upon the argument.—For those who had stated it highest, had only said it was sufficient to satisfy the literal words of the act of Parliament. Here he severely attacked ministers for the alarm they had given; said if they had meant to affemble Parliament, they should have done it by an unusual exertion of prerogative, not by a measure that must alarm. He then faid, that upon the face of what had been stated, they could

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not justify what they had done. If the insurrection was at Dundee, should they have called out the militia in Kent? if at Salifbury, was the militia at Westmoreland the proper force? if at Yarmouth, the militia of Northumberland? if at Shields, that of Effex? He then shewed that none of those had amounted to such an infurrection as the law meant, and that they had all been over before the proclamation. He adverted to the state of Scotland. He faid it had been stated, that country was in a state of fermentation and discontent. He said, in all countries there were perfons wild and extravagant; but that was not the general dispofition of Scotland. That they were a people loyal and attached to the constitution. That the love of liberty, which would attach them more and more to the constitution, was from a variety of obvious causes-encreased wealth-encreased intercourse with this country, growing daily more and more—it might have exceffes, but it had no crimes—and this truly British spirit only rendered his native country more and more dear to him. He faid he was fure that every fermented spirit, if any such there were in that country, would be quieted by a judicious attention to those questions which were to come forward respecting the representation of Scotland. Here Mr. Adam took occasion to express his steady adherence to the general established system of representation of the 513 members for England; and stated that there were particular local circumstances which required regulation of the 45 in Scotland. That the county representation of that country would come forward foon. That it would come under confideration, in a regular legislative mode, not unhinging the fundamental principles of the representative system here. He said it should have his thorough attention, with a strong inclination to reduce it upon principles acknowledged in the Scotch law-fo low as to give a confiderable body of men an interest in the choice of their representatives.—That as to the Burghs, he faid it was a matter of much difficulty—that their grievances should have a fair and candid hearing, and that he was fure the good fense of the people would be fatisfied with fuch redrefs, as was not impeded by the treaty uniting them with this country;—and as was founded on a proceeding, not tending to shake the representative lystem by acknowledging fundamental defects in the constitution of the British Parliament.

Mr. Adam next adverted to that part of the King's speech which mentioned the proclamation of May. He said he did it merely to save himself from being included in the observation made of its utility. He wished not to rest upon it. It recalled to him difference of opinion with the friends he best loved in that and the other House of Parliament. He talked with great warmth of the affection and attachment of the present Earl of Guildford; of the superiorly

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fuperiorly excellent qualities of his head and heart; and faid, though they had formewhat differed in opinion upon that proclamation in May, there was every co-incidence that friendship could

defire upon the present subject of discussion.

Mr. Adam now reverted to the particular question of the negociation. He said, Mr. Burke had asked what hopes there were of success. This, he said, he nor no man could tell; but it could as little be said, that there would be none; that if it did not make us successful in negociation, it would secure our success in war; it would unite every hand and every heart in that still serious but inevitable calamity; while a conduct which carried half a nation to war with unwillingness, would put a padlock on every sword, and unrudder every ship.

Earl of CARYSFORT spoke against the amendment; he deprecated the conduct of France, and sincerely hoped that if we should be involved in a war against our old and inveterate enemy, that it might, as all our former wars with that nation, end successfully and honourably, and enable us to maintain the liberty of every country in Europe, and give equal freedom and protection to all. His Lordship was declaring his sentiments in full favour

of the Catholics of Ireland, when

Lord SHEFFIELD spoke to order.

The SPEAKER declared that Lord Carysfort was in order, as Ireland had been before alluded to, and was confidered fair to be argued upon, as effentially providing aids to the British Empire in times of war.

Lord CARYSFORT proceeded, and in the course of his Speech shewed that the disqualifying Acts against the Catholics of Ireland had been formed on grounds which no longer existed;

he hoped therefore to fee them completely done away.

Mr. Secretary DUNDAS faid, he should studiously avoid advancing any thing on the affairs of Ireland, because on that question he conceived it to be his duty to restrain himself: For Ireland had a Legislature of its own, and should that Legislature not deem it ht to grant what the people might require, the opinions in that House could operate only to inflame the public mind; and if the Irish Legislature intended to grant the requilition, God forbid, he faid, that this House should by previous discussion take from that the merit of so acting! The Right Honourable Secretary then entered into the general attack on the conduct of ministers; and said the Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Fox) had made the first charge against them for not deviating from their lystem of neutrality, from the invasion of France by Austria and by Prussia: but though the Right Hon. Genteman thought fit now to make fuch a charge, he was totally thent upon the fubject during the last Session, when it was equally

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equally known to have taken place; and if in his political wifdom fuch a measure was effentially necessary for the welfare of this country, it was to be lamented that he had not advanced his valuable opinion; but if he had advanced it the strong presumption was, that in that opinion he would have flood alone; for though many might have been found in England and on the Continent to blame us at that time for not deviating from a neutrality, that blame would not have been for not acting against the Confederates, but for not acting with them against France; for at that period folicitations were received from every power in Europe so to act; but Great Britain resolved, on a neutrality, and having so resolved, she had no right to demand of Prussia, and of Austria, what were their objects? He admitted that the successes of the arms of France had been incredibly great and unaccountable, but in confequence of those succeffes, government had not to blame themselves for negligence -for on neutrality they stood, on that they rested their justification; and on neutrality they would still have stood, had not the progress of the French arms in the Netherlands endangered our Allies the Dutch. He contended that the amendment proposed by the Right Hon. Gentleman went to throw us at the feet and mercy of France, and for that view he did well in reprefenting us in the difastrous state of having no Ally, of having infurrections in Ireland and in Scotland, and in being rotten at home. The Right Hon. Gentleman had also given a serious lecture to another Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Burke) against invective; but had he followed his own lectures, he probably might have deemed it prudent to have observed more moderation towards the Houses of Austria and Prussia. The Right Hon. Gentleman wishes the House to insist on negociation; but if that was agreed to, France and England would not meet on equal terms; for the former would be at liberty to approve or reject, and the latter would be tied down by the Resolution of the House to negociate. Was that a desirable case? If the Right Hon. Gentleman and his friends took this mode of conveying a censure on ministers, he thought they took an indirect manner. Should it be taken up fairly, he had no objection to meet the queftion; if the amendment was adopted, our neutrality would be departed from, and such a departure, at such a time, would be by furrounding nations attributed to personal fear: but should the French not receive your proposal, then would this country be in the fituation the Right Honourable Gentleman had described, namely, having no one to trust us, and we no one to trust. The Right Honourable Secretary took notice of the emptiness of Dumourier's cheft, and of the expences daily increasing; comparing them with the fituation of this country, and declaring

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that in his opinion, the war must be successful and glorious if we were compelled to enter into one. He concluded strenu-

oully against the motion for an amendment.

Mr. POWYS confidered the political intentions declared by Mr. Fox to be peculiarly baneful to this country, and his amendment would have the effect, if passed, of alienating the people from the Executive Power. If the Right Honourable Gentleman had a specific object, why not state it, and come to the question that night: if he wished for a negociation with France, and a declaration of its being a Republic, let him fay fo, and call for a vote; why not put that question instead of the Amendment? To him negociation with France appeared impossible; to whom was an Ambassador to be sent? Who was sure that they who had profcribed your King, would accept an Ambaffador from him? He approved of the Speech and the Address, they breathed nothing but the faithful prefervation of our treaties abroad, and the security of our internal peace. If he had his wish, he would draw a line round France, to prevent the spreading of her infection; he would avoid meddling with her; but if she meddled with us we had not a choice. The Address had his hearty

Mr. FOX faid, what he meant was what he had flated: Peace, if it could be had, confiftently with the fafety and ho-

nour of the Crown and Nation.

Mr. WILBERFORCE faid, that he should take some other opportunity of delivering his opinion on the various important topics connected with the subject then before the House; but he could not fuffer the debate to go off, without faying a very few words, merely for the purpose of preventing his motives being mistaken in the vote he should give against the amendment of the Right Honourable Gentleman; and he felt it the more neceffary to do this, because he could by no means acquiesce in the language which had been held by many of the gentlemen with whom he should concur in the division, any more than he could disapprove of all that had been said on the other side. Gentlemen had talked, as if it behoved all who wished for peace, to vote for the Amendment; he, for his part, should vote against it; not as being determined for war, but because he believed the Amendment would by no means tend to peace. He would not then enter into particulars, but he frankly declared, that as, at all times, war ought to be deprecated as the greatest of human evils, so there never was a period when it appeared more likely to be injurious to this country than the present. He could not feel the force of the arguments for war, from what had been fuggested concerning the distressed situation of the French, and the flourishing state of Great Britain. He preferred to the Amendment the language of the Address, which, concurring with the Speech from the throne, plainly declared, that the House of Commons approved of the neutrality his Majesty's ministers had hitherto observed, and of their determination to avoid a war, if it were possible, consistently with justice. This, he fully trusted, would be the conduct of Administration. If we should find ourselves compelled by the obligations of solemn treaties to engage in war, as men of conscience and integrity, we must submit to the necessity; but nothing less than this necessity could justify the measure, and he begged it to be understood, that it was on this ground only that he felt it his duty to support government in their present measures.

The Amendment was negatived without a division.

The Address was then agreed to.

Mr. FOX gave notice that he should to-morrow move an Address to his Majesty to acknowledge the Republic of France.

Adjourned at half after twelve o'clock.

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DECEMBER 15.

This day the Commons went to St. James's, to present their Address to the King.

" Most Gracious Sovereign,

"We Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return Your Majesty our hearty thanks, for Your most gracious

Speech from the Throne.

"It would have afforded us the most sincere satisfaction if Your Majesty could have announced to us the secure and undisturbed continuance of all the blessings, which Your Majesty's subjects have derived from a state of tranquillity; but we are fully sensible that events have recently occurred, which must require our united vigilance and exertion to preserve to this country the advantages which it has hitherto enjoyed.

"It has been impossible for us not to perceive, from our own observation in different parts of the country, the increased activity with which seditious practices have of late been openly renewed; and we learn, with concern, that not only a spirit of tumult and disorder (the natural consequence of such practices) has shewn itself in acts of riot and insurrection, which required the interposition of a military force in support of the civil magistrate, but that the industry employed to excite discontent has appeared to proceed from a design to attempt, in concert with perfons in foreign countries, the destruction of our happy constitution, and the subversion of all order and government.

"We entertain a just sense of the temper and prudence which have induced Your Majesty to observe a strict neutrality with

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with respect to the war on the Continent, and uniformly to abstain from any interference in the internal affairs of France;
but, at the same time, we cannot but participate in the just uneasiness with which Your Majesty must observe any indications
of an intention to excite disturbances in other countries, to disregard the rights of neutral nations, and to pursue views of conquest and aggrandizement, and particularly to adopt measures
towards Your Majesty's Allies the States General, inconsistent
with the law of nations, and the positive stipulations of existing
treaties.

"The circumstances, which your Majesty has been pleased to communicate to us, appear to have rendered it highly important, for the safety and interest of this country, that Your Majesty should have recourse to those measures of prevention, and internal defence, with which Your Majesty is entrusted by law.

"We fincerely hope that these exertions, and the steps which Your Majesty has taken for augmenting your naval and military force, will have the happy tendency both to maintain internal tranquillity, and to render a firm and temperate conduct effectual for preserving the bleffings of peace.

"Your Majesty may, at the same time, rely on our zealous concurrence in such measures as may prove to be necessary for the security of these kingdoms, and for the faithful performance of our engagements.

"We shall proceed to make such provisions as shall be requi-

fite for the feveral branches of the public fervice.

"We must indeed see, with the deepest regret, any necessity for extraordinary expences, which may prevent the application of additional sums, beyond those already annually appropriated, to the reduction of the public debt, or retard the further relief which Your Majesty's subjects might derive from a diminution of taxes; but we are fully aware that those great ends (to which our views must anxiously be directed) will themselves ultimately be best promoted by such vigorous and timely exertions as may be necessary for our present and future safety and tranquillity; and it will, undoubtedly, be a great consolation to us to find, that the excess of the actual revenue, beyond the ordinary expenditure, is such as to furnish ample resources for effectually defraying the expences of vigorous preparations, if the circumstances of the time should render such preparations requisite.

"We beg leave to offer to Your Majesty our cordial congratulations on the brilliant successes of the British arms in India, under the able conduct of the Marquis Cornwallis, and on the termination of the war in that country by an advantageous and honourable peace, which can, in no respect, be more satisfactory than in its tendency to secure the future tranquillity of the

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British dominions in that part of the world: we shall not fail to employ our utmost attention, with a view to taking such measures for the future government of those valuable possessions, as shall appear, from experience and full consideration, most likely to provide for their internal prosperity, and to secure the important advantages which may be derived from thence to the

commerce and revenue of this country.

"Your Majesty may depend upon the zeal and readiness with which we shall enter on the consideration of any measures which may appear to be necessary, under the present circumstances, for enforcing obedience to the laws, and for repressing every attempt to disturb the peace and tranquillity of these kingdoms: and we beseech Your Majesty to believe, that no endeavours will be wanting, on our part, which can contribute to the present security and permanent advantage of the country.

"We shall, on every occasion, be anxious to manifest the continuance of our dutiful and affectionate attachment to Your Majesty, as well as our firm determination to defend and maintain that constitution, which has so long protected the liberties, and promoted the happiness, of every class of Your Majesty's subjects. Feeling it to be our first and most effential duty to preferve and transmit to posterity the inestimable blessings which, under the favour of Providence, we have ourselves experienced.

"We receive, with the warmest emotions of gratitude, the gracious affurances of Your Majesty's zealous and cordial co-operation: and we rely with confidence on the decided support of a

free and loyal people."

HIS MAJESTY'S ANSWER.

" Gentlemen,

"I return you my warmest thanks for this loyal and affectionate address; and I receive, with peculiar satisfaction, the assurances of your attachment to me, and of your determination zealously to concur in such measures as may be necessary for the security of these kingdoms, and for the faithful performance of our engagements.

"Your public declaration of these sentiments cannot fail to produce the happiest effects in the present important conjunc-

ture."

From St. James's the Commons returned to their own House.

As foon as the members had taken their places,

Mr. FOX rose to make his promised motion. After having already said so much on this subject, and feeling how little any thing he could add, was likely to be attended to in the present disposition of the house, he should only say a very few words in the way of previous explanation. By his motion he meant to imply

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imply no approbation of the conduct of the existing French government, or of the proceedings that had led to the present state of things in France. He meant fimply to declare, and record his opinion, that it was the true policy of every nation to treat with the existing government of every other nation, with which it had relative interests, without inquiring or regarding how that government was constituted, or by what means those who exercifed it came into power. This was not only the policy, but frequently the practice. If we objected to the existing form of government in France, we had as strong objections to the form of government at Algiers; yet at Algiers we had a conful. we abhorred the crimes committed in France, we equally abhorred the crimes committed in Morocco! yet to the court of Morocco we had fent a conful almost immediately after the commission of crimes at which humanity shuddered.—By these acts we were neither supposed to approve of the form of government at Algiers, nor of the crimes committed in Morocco. From his motion therefore, no opinion was to be implied, but the opinion he had stated. It would have been better if what he had proposed had been done fooner, and there were circumstances that made it less proper now than at an earlier period. But this was not imputable to him. The earliest period was now the best; and this was the earliest opportunity that the meeting of Parliament afforded him. It would have been still better, if our minister had not been recalled from Paris, but continued there as the ministers of some other courts had done. He concluded with moving,

"That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, That his Majesty will be graciously pleased to give direction, that a minister may be sent to Paris, to treat with those persons who exercise provisionally the functions of executive government in France, touching such points as may be in discussion between

his Majesty and his allies, and the French nation."

Mr. GREY feconded the motion.

Lord SHEFFIELD rose in much warmth, and said, are we then in that abject state? Are we the most contemptible of nations? Are we to be the first to acknowledge, to cringe to cutthroats and robbers, who have not the recommendation of being able to controul their own banditti. Are we to league with them—to act in concert with them? How soon they may be invited here he should not attempt to guess, or to say how soon our prisons will be filled with the most meritorious persons of this country, for the purpose of murdering them without a trial; or how soon the most amiable of our women, and of the highest rank, my lie on straw, crowded in the most loathsome gaols, as in France, with the vilest dregs of both sexes, faultless however, except, perhaps, that their fathers, husbands, or sons may have prefumed

prefumed to support the Constitution. He said he was too much agitated to attempt to point out the mischiefs of what had been proposed. He should leave it to those who would do it more ably. He almost regretted the enthusiasm he had shewn on other occasions in favour of the Right Honourable Gentleman. His Lordship concluded with some observations on the late measures, and told the ministers that instead of their unjustifiable interpretation of the word Infurrection, they would have done much better if they had acknowledged, that in confequence of some uncommon danger which impended, they had for the public good laid themselves under the necessity of applying to the Legislature for indemnity.—That he had not objected to the Address, or supported the Amendment, because he should seem to approve many mischievous principles and suggestions which had been heard in that House the two last days.

-Mr. STANLEY faid he had attended very closely to the discussion which had taken place for the last two days, and he could not help thinking that many speeches had been delivered, which tended rather to cause insurrection, than to quiet the minds of people. In his part of the country they had got into their heads, that as foon a reform took place, all taxes, tythes, and authority over them would be abolished. With regard to France, he had witneffed the enormities of the 10th of August, and hoped none such would ever happen in this country; he was forry the Motion had been made, because nobody could entertain a higher respect for the Right Honourable Gentleman's judgment and abilities, or a stronger personal attachment to him, than he did, but confidering his duty to his country as the strongest of all attachments, he thought it necessary to say thus

much.

Mr. M. A. TAYLOR, as an independent Member of Parliament, who had as high a fense of his duty to his country as any man, thought himself called upon to give his vote for his Right Honourable Friend's motion, as one highly proper, if not absolutely necessary; and he thus publicly declared, that he would support him in it to the utmost of his power. Nor would he be afraid to go back to his constituents, and tell them fo, conscious that he had done what was right. His Right Honourable Friend had always allowed his determination to support King, Lords, and Commons, and was a steadfast friend to the British Constitution, though not to the abuses of it, which no man could deny required reform. While these were his sentiments, he would always go with him, but particularly in the present measure, as the most likely to avert the calamities of war, and especially a war that seemed to be entered into for no one good purpose. He observed, with regard to the time, that

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if we did not negociate now, we might wish to do it when it would not be in our power. The sense of the country had prevented the Russian war; but it was said, the sense of the country would be for a French war. Even if it were, we should be obliged to treat with them at last. The American war was long carried on with the sense of the country for it; in the end we were obliged to acknowledge their independence. There was as much character, principle, and honour amongst the men with whom he acted, as any set of men could posses; and if sedition or insurrection arose from speeches in that House, it would be from very alarming speeches from the other side of the House. He was a strenuous advocate for King, Lords, and Commons; but he must say, that the recent mobs might be divided between loyal mobs, and mobs against individuals.

Mr. LOVEDEN faid a few words against the motion.

Mr. GREY faid, that having feconded the motion of his Right Honourable Friend, with whose sentiments on the subject he concurred in every point, he could not filently hear fuch motives imputed to himself and his friends, as a Noble Lord had imputed; nor fuffer, unrepelled, the infinuation that they wished to excite infurrection. If the conduct of any fet of men was calculated to excite infurrection, it was that of his Majesty's Ministers; who, by Proclamations, calumniating whole defcriptions of men as feditious, and announcing infurrections that never existed, filled the minds of the people with false alarms, and taught every man to distrust, if not to hate his neighbour. Accordingly, the only inflances like infurrection that had occurred—at Birmingham, and he was informed now at Manchefter, were mobs, on pretext of loyalty and order, on pretext of supporting Church and King, but raised by wretches who knew as little of loyalty as they did of order, and directed folely against persons supposed inimical, not to his Majesty, but his ministers. On this subject he should make a Motion that very night, if possible, for the purpose of putting all his Majesty's subjects equally under the protection of the civil government. On the question before the House, it was asked if Great Britain was to fneak and crouch to France. No-neither fneak nor crouch, but negociate like a great and high spirited nation, and if redress was refused of any injury offered, then denounce war. We are asked again, would we treat now under all the circumstances we know to be existing? I say, yes certainly; for though I admit that the time is not the most favourable, the fault is not with us but with Ministers, who let the favourable opportunity pass away, and by their fupine neglect loft an occasion of preventing many of the crimes committed in France, and perhaps of averting that act of injustice and impolicy (the execution of the King) which we

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now at this moment fear is committing. We are told by a Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Burke) that to treat with men stained with so many crimes as the present rulers of France would be difgraceful. Let, fays he, the present guilty men pass away, and in the mean time let us fight a little. What difgrace is to be avoided, or honour to be acquired by fighting first, to treat afterwards, which we know we must at last, I do not comprehend, nor how the object can be worth fuch a price. If a war the most dangerous ever undertaken, is to be avoided, we must treat now and I support the motion as the only means left of averting so great a calamity. We are not here to be hurrled away by our feelings, and our indignation against the perpetrators of the crimes committed in France. We are to decide on natural policy, not personal feeling. I am for maintaining the national faith and the national honour; by whom have they been tarnished? Let ministers answer the question. I will maintain our treaties with our allies, but first I will advise them to concede a point if necessary, that it may be beneficial to concede. Let it be shewn that we are bound to keep the Scheldt shut for the Dutch, that they call upon us to do fo, and will make no concession, for the point in itself I do not think of fuch importance as to justify a war; finally, that we have done all in our power to bring the French to an amicable arrangement, and then perhaps I will yield to a war, but still with reluctance. If, unhappily, we are brought into fuch a fituation as that we can neither renounce our allies, nor defend them, what has brought us to this but the neglect or incapacity of Ministers? If we must have a war it must be a war of vigour and exertion-not fuch a petty warfare as some gentlemen feem to think, and the minister, in the speech from the throne, would infinuate. If the enthufiasm of any man for the Right Honourable Gentleman who made the motion be abated, mine, The state of the country calls upon him if possible, is increased. to stand in the gap and defend the constitution; he has said he will do fo; and while I have power of body or mind he shall not A firm band of admiring friends, not the less restand alone. spectable nor the less likely to prevail from the present disproportion of their number, will faithfully fland by him against all the calumnies of those who betray while they affect to defend the constitution.

The Hon. FREDERICK NORTH made his first speech. He was against the motion, and did not wish to interfere with the prerogative of the crown, by giving advice in the prefent instance; he faid there could be no responsibility without an arbitration of the executive power of the country, and as by advising the crown that house became the arbitrators, they immediately took away

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all responsibility from ministers. He contended that no alliance with France, at present, could be attended with beneficial confequences; and lamented that at this very moment, when they were debating on this question, the unfortunate King of France might be no more! And what could they expect from treating with a people, who after having imprisoned their king, could not insure his fafety to the tribunal appointed to try him.

Mr. FOX begged to let the House right respecting one point, which was, that nothing in his motion, or in any of his

speeches, went to forming any alliance with France.

Colonel TARLETON professed a strong attachment to the Crown and the Constitution; but was determined carefully to watch the arbitrators of the executive government. If this country should unfortunately be plunged into war, he was ready to use his utmost exertions in defence of his king and country. However he was so warmly impressed with a sense of his duty to his constituents, that he should feel much if that calamitous event could not be avoided. He enlarged upon the number of thips employed in our trade to different parts of the globe; and law much danger, and nothing to be gained, by war. The French colonies, if we had them, he confidered as no acquifition. He lamented the scenes which had taken place in France, some of which he had seen. He was convinced that this country ought to negociate, rather than go to war; for whatever our finances might be at prefent, there was no faving how or when a war with France might end; and it could not be pretracted without laying additional burthens on the people.

Mr. JENKINSON expressed his great surprise, that Gentlemen on the other fide of the House shewed such a dread of war, particularly when he recurred to a former period in the year 1787. They at that time held a very different language; and, when their opponents stated their unwillingness to go to war, on account of the calamities that must attend it, those same Gentlemen had charged them with mean and degrading fentiments. Let us only compare the two periods, and we shall find that our relources at that time were very low, and the finances of France very high. Now, our resources are great and flourishing; and, as to the finances of France, he would only mention, that when he could shew from authority that they had expended nineteen millions in three months, an expence never before incurred by any nation in the same time, must they not be low indeed? If we had gone to war then, Spain would have taken part against us; if now, Spain would be our ally. On this point he dwelt for some time, and from thence concluded, that this was by far the most favourable period of the two for going to war with france. As to the present moment being improper, he could

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not fee that it was not fo. He was indeed one of those who believed that there did exist in this country a disassected party; but he inought they were a very finall party who connected themselves with France, and these, if there was a war, would foon be known by their treasonable practices, and would be punished for their crimes; whereas, in times of peace, they might carry on their practices with more fecrecy and impunity. He was very ready to agree, that war was never defirable; but if at this time it should become necessary, he was confident the country could not be better prepared. He argued that the ambition of the French nation was daily increasing, and that it was the worst kind of ambition; not the ambition of a king, which the people always had the power to check, but the ambition of the people themselves, against which no country had any check within itself. He exposed their system of conquest and aggrandifement from their pretences for annexing Savoy to France, The King of Sardinia had done nothing against France; but they faid he intended to make a proposition hostile to them, and though this immediate intention was a mere pretext, they proceeded upon that, and that only. He then adverted to their conduct at Geneva, where they made a proposition, that the Swifs troops should be removed, and the magistrates punished. Now this last article he insisted was against the laws of nations, and never was heard of before as a condition of peace in any treaty, because it was interfering with the internal government of the country. The treaty agreed to by General Montesquiou and the Genevele, he confidered as difgraceful to the latter, if not founded on necessity, and yet it had been condemned, and almost immediately broken by the National Convention of France. / with the hard territor of a bentaning

He came next to the taking of Franckfort, and stated that their oftenfible reasons for this attack were, that the people at Mayence had published a newspaper, which they did not like; and the bankers there had given money for bills which fome emigrants had carried there; while they themselves had been doing nothing for the last three years, but libelling all other nations, and wishing to subvert all order and good government. He reprobated the decree of the Convention to open the Scheldt, as a direct breach of the rights of neutral nations, and maintained that the Scheldt was, to all intents and purpofes, as much the property of the Dutch, as the Thames was the property of Great Britain.—The Dutch have both fides of the mouth of the Scheldt, therefore that river is not only her natural right, but confirmed and guaranteed by treaty; and if the French were to force the opening of it, he thought we were bound by treaty to go to war. He argued for the propriety of recalling Lord

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Lord Gower at the time he was recalled, and made several obfervations on the present melancholy situations of the King and Royal Family of France. He then stated the terms of Lord Grenville's letter, which went no farther than to affure the French, that from our anxiety about the King and Royal Family, if they should fall, the murderers would meet with no protection in this country; and if any of them should endeavour to take shelter here, we would deliver them over to justice and punishment. Is this then the time for Great Britain to acknow. ledge the French Republic, when in all probability the hands of those ruffian affaffins are reeking with the blood of their unfortunate Monarch? In his mind it was the most improper of all times to negociate with that nation; and fending any person to treat with them, he infifted, would be betraying fear on our part, and difgraceful in every view. It had been asked, what could be gained by war? He would agree that nothing was to be gained; but that good faith and the national honour required it. He faid, that if we did negociate, we should offend those who must be our allies in case of war, the Emperor and the King of Prussia: and why should we offend those allies for a country in which no man's refidence was fecure for a fortnight? In France there were two contending parties, and whichever was the most powerful for that day, constituted the executive government of the country; a circumstance that, thank God, never could happen in Great Britain. If we are to determine that Holland is no ground for quarrel, will not the King of Pruffia think himfelf relieved from his treaty to protect Holland? and where then are the Dutch to find means of defence against any attack that may be made on them? Those who argued that Britain had more to lofe than to gain by going to war, feemed to think interest was every thing, and national honour nothing.—He could not fee that the conduct of Ministers had any thing to do with this question; it arose entirely from the existing circumstances, and he infifted that we had more to dread from an attack upon Holland. He agreed that the House ought not to interfere with the prerogative of the Crown, by offering advice, and taking the responsibility on themselves. Here he inveighed in very lofty terms against France, as a nation which had always been the scourge of the human race; where nothing was now known but wild divisions, destruction, and devastation, ravages, massacres, and plunder, the monuments of antiquity destroyed, all order and government fubverted, and univerfal anarchy and confusion introduced. He thought the present an unfortunate motion, and if the House did not reject it unanimously, he called upon those wise and able men of all parties, whose integrity, honour, and talents, had often rendered fervices to their country, to use L 2 their

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their utmost exertions against it, particularly on the Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Wyndham) whose abilities and influence in that House, and in the country, were too great to be heightened by his panegyric; and who, however they might differ in trifles, had shewn a firm and determined spirit to unite

in Support of the Constitution.

Mr. FRANCIS faid, he could affure the House most solemnly, and most truly, that when he came down to the House, he had no thoughts of taking any part in the debate, and that nothing but the instant urgency of the occasion, and the extraordinary language which he had heard this day, could have compelled him to request their attention even for a few minutes. That he was neither prepared nor defirous to enter at large into the question; but to declare his fentiments, and to deliver his opinion shortly and distinctly, was now made unavoidable. It was forced upon him, not only in his public duty, but by the firongest considerations of personal interest, by which every honest man is bound to vindicate his honour, his principles, and his character. I must begin with remonstrating and protesting against the style and tone with which this debate has been, and is conducted. We are, or we pretend to be, a deliberative Asfembly. We are debating upon a fubject of the most grave, the most ferious, the most solemn deliberation; that is, whether this nation shall, or shall not, be exposed to the hazards, and involved in the calamities of war. But in what manner has this awful question been agitated? Is it by appeals to our understanding? No, Sir, the understanding has never once been appealed to. It is by exciting our passions, it is by agitating our feelings, and by prefenting perpetually to our imagination, such feenes of horror as the human mind can hardly endure to contemplate—these are the means, and the only means, which gentlemen have taken to enlighten and to direct our judgment. I confess their end is answered. The effect does certainly correspond with the cause. The House naturally catches the flame, partakes in the furious passions of the perfons who address them, and instead of discussing the great question of war and peace, with temper, with a cool and careful consideration of arguments, without which there can be no wildom either in the debate or the decision; -instead of this, they in fact deprive themselves of all capacity to debate, of all faculty of judging;—they liften with rapture to mere invectives, and echo them back again with shouts, with cries, and with clamours, renouncing and profcribing all liberty of opinion, all freedom of debate. Is this a British House of Commons, or am I fuddenly transplanted, by some enchantment, into that Convention, against which the perpetual theme of reproach is, that they deliberate in passion, and resolve by acclamation? Sir, it

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n - was not necessary for these Honourable Gentlemen to revive and paint to you, as they perpetually do, the scenes of horror which have been acted at Paris. They are much mistaken if they think that I do not view those execrable acts with as much detestation as they do. But it is my duty and my endeavour at this moment to turn my thoughts from them, as much as possible, in order to keep my mind in a state of freedom, and in a capacity to judge and to pronounce upon the greatest of all national interests, which not only demands all the understanding I possess, but the free and unbiassed use of it. On such a question, Sir, I cannot indeed exclude the feelings of the heart; but it is the head that should deliberate, it is the judgment that should decide.—Is there a question before us, or is there not?—Am I free, am I fafe in debating it? If I hefitate, if I balance between war and peace, if I deliberate before I pronounce, is my integrity to be instantly disputed;—is my loyalty to be suspected? Sir, I am not fond of making voluntary professions. I know how little they prove, and how little they are to be depended on. But the occasion comes before me unlought for, when it is not a forward and officious profession to declare, that in personal duty and affection to the King, I yield to no man; and that, neither in this House, nor in this kingdom, has his Majesty a more loyal subject than I am. The day of trial may come. Necessity irrefultible may force us into a war. When that necessity comes, I will meet it and encounter it like a man, and as readily perhaps as others, who talk more than I do, at the hazard of my fortune and life. But, before that unhappy hour shall come, I have another intermediate duty to perform :—to affift in preventing a war if it be possible.—A barren duty, I fear it will be. — Whatever some gentlemen may think or affirm, we are not yet in a state of war. If we were, there would be no question before us, but how to support it.—We should not have voted the Address we have done. We should not have thanked his Majesty for the strict neutrality which he has carefully observed, and from which he has not yet departed, much less for the gracious affurance he has given us of his hopes of preferving the bleffings of peace, by a firm and temperate conduct, and that nothing shall be neglected on his part that can contribute to that important object. If so, the object is not only important, but still within our reach. Is it a crime, then—am I instantly criminal—is my loyalty to be sufpected, if, to the best of my judgment, I concur in the sentiments declared by his Majesty, if I co-operate with his gracious intentions, and affift to the utmost of my power in securing the fame objects, in preferving the bleffings of peace? If this be a crime, you must charge it upon the King's ministers, who advile his Majesty to hold this language to Parliament; to consider

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the prefervation of peace as a bleffing, when in fact it is a curse; and to delude the nation with the hopes of preferving that peace which cannot be preferved, because it does not exist; because, in fact, we are in a war, while his Majesty tells us just the contrary, and while we thank him for telling us fo. But now, Sir, in the name of God, how is peace to be preferved, if you will take no one pacific step to preserve it? I defy you to reconcile the language of these gentlemen with that of his Majesty, or with your own Address. We are told by an Honourable Gentleman, who feems to be in the fecret; he confesses, he affirms, that in this war there is little to be gained, and a great deal to be lost. I agree with him entirely as far as he goes; but I go much further. I fay and affirm, that in this war there is nothing to be gained, and every thing to be loft. The great parties, which have engaged in it already, are all of them difgraced, if not ruined by it. Will it mend the matter to add our ruin and difgrace to theirs?— Shall we fave that life, the lofs of which I shall lament and deplore as much as any man? Shall we reinstate the House of Bourbon? Shall we prevent the invasion, -possibly the conquest of Holland !- by war? impossible-whatever the success of it may be. But we are engaged by treaties.—Agreed. But do those treaties forbid all preliminary negociation? And if they did, is any nation bound to its own destruction? Are treaties ever executed—are they ever regarded, when they manifestly lead to that iffue? But shew me at least how, and by what means, these treaties are to be executed? Isit sufficient to declare war, whether you have a rational prospect or not? In what quarter is France effentially vulnerable by the power of this kingdom? I know it not; but if I did, the knowledge and certainty of my power should not make me the less cautious in what manner and for what purposes I made use of it. Sir, all I contend for is, that these serious questions may be seriously considered, We are as much bound to debate and deliberate now, as we may be hereafter to act with vigour and decision. They are only different branches of the same general duty which we owe to the King and to the country. Precipitation is not the foundation of firmness. Immediate passion is no security for future perseve-The time may come when I must yield to necessity, when deliberation must be at an end, and action must begin. will then take my share in it. Till that time, my proper office is deliberative and pacific, and I will perform it in spite of clamour—in defiance of obloquy. I will do the invidious duty now-I will do the honourable duty then.

Mr. ERSKINE faid he had been fo much accustomed to hear the interests of men defended upon the principles of reason instead of passion, in another place, that he was under much

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difficulty where he found declamation substituted for argument He begged to be understood not to give any opinion at all con cerning the Constitution of France, and that he meant not to mix the affairs of France with the affairs of this country. He thought that Gentlemen who call themselves so often the friends of our Constitution, might give credit to the fincerity of this declaration, as well as to the fincerity of the declaration of his Right Hon. Friend who made this motion: but no fooner had he made the motion, than a noble Lord started up, and in a tone of the most violent passion reprobated both the motion and the motive. He did not wish to impute any shameful excess to the noble Lord; but he thought that if he was ashamed of the enthufialm he had formerly felt in favour of his Right Hon. Friend, which he had so often recommended to others, and acted upon himself so well, he ought to be ashamed of the enthusiasm he had betrayed on the present occasion. If his Right Honourable Friend, Mr. Fox, was an enemy to the Constitution, it was high time to defert him; but from what he had always faid, what he had always done, there was the best reason for looking on him as its firmest friend. What colour then was there for an attack upon his Right Hon. Friend? He conceived that on the first day of the Session, the House understood that we are not at war with France, and that whether we are to get into that calamitous fituation, depended upon contingency. He conceived it to be an evil which prudence might avert, which reason taught us to avert, if possible. What did his Right Hon. Friend propose? Did he, when he advised the King to treat by the medium of an Ambassador, put into the mouth of that Ambaffador any thing that would degrade this country, or interfere with its true interests? No. He meant only that we shall have a man on the spot, clothed with the character of an Ambassador, that we might be in a situation to treat with France, as we should with any other power. But it had been observed, that it would be nugatory, in this condition of things, to fend an Ambassador to France on the advice of that House, unless they also advised the King as to the instructions to be given to that Ambassador. He confessed he thought otherwise; and that this, like every other embassy, should be under the immediate direction of his Majesty. But France, it leemed, was in a fituation too degraded for us to treat with her. He had hitherto faid nothing on the affairs of France, and should itill observe the same rule; but the question now role to this, Whether we are pleased to say we will go to war with France at all events? For that was the effect of treating France with contempt. If war was inevitable, we must face it to the end; but where was that end? Should it be, until the French had, in pur opinion, formed a government of moderation and of justice;

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or, perhaps what they never would have, a government equal to our own? Until all or some of these things were to happen, we were to carry on a ruinous war, and be plunged into the mifery and horror that await a war, merely because we cannot upon a nice punctilio think it proper to fend a person to France, to represent the dignity of this country; and the evil was incurable, for the reason which prevented us now from sending an Ambasfador to France might prevent our bringing the war, when we should think it necessary, to a termination. He was as unwilling to fee intemperate doctrine maintained in this country as any person could be, but he did not fear it, for he was persuaded of the good sense of the people of this country, and that they would not be easily diverted from the point of their true interest -their interest in the Constitution.

He observed that it had of late become so much the fashion for gentlemen to rehearfe their political creed, that he, among the rest, must say he loved the British Constitution, and had as much reason to wish it may be preserved inviolate as any man in this country; but the question was whether we were at this moment to dash into a war upon a petty punctilio of office ?-What had we to fear from fending an Ambassador to France? That his principles might be contaminated? That he might be afflicted with the French mania? The plague of the mind was not like the plague of the body. The French Constitution could not be brought over in a bag of wool. Did we ever before this refuse to send an Ambassador to any country on account of the form of its Constitution? Did we inquire into the Constitution of Morocco, when we sent our Ambassador there? or did we object to treat with that people on account of their religion? Indeed it feemed to him politic that we should not be very squeamish upon these things. But he was told that we are in a fituation much more convenient to go to war with France, than on any former occasion. Upon the spirit of the people of this country he had a firm reliance; they would fight against the enemies of their country, he had no doubt; but then the more we know of their courage and their virtue, the more we ought to endeavour to spare their efforts, as well for them as for ourselves, for neither could benefit by war. It was not possible to benefit by war, it was a scourge to the human race; it was well described by a man, who if not pessessed of the first, had nevertheless a respectable degree of eloquence; he meant the

late Doctor Johnson, who thus spoke of war:
"It is wonderful with what coolness and indifference the greater part of mankind see war commenced. Those that hear of it at a distance, or read of it in books, but have never presented its evils to their minds, confider it as little more than a splendid

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game, a proclamation, an army, a battle, a triumph. Some indeed must perish in the most successful field, but they die upon the bed of honour, resign their lives amid the joys of conquest, and filled with England's glory, smile in death."—Such said Mr. Erskine, I am consident will be the death of every Briton, who, if we are forced into a war, shall fall in battle for the honour, the safety, the constitution, and the freedom, of his country:

but let us fee the other fide of the picture.

"The life of a modern foldier is ill represented by heroic fiction. War has means of destruction more formidable than the cannon and the fword. Of the thousands and ten thousands that perished in our late contests with France and Spain, a very small part ever felt the stroke of an enemy; the rest languished in tents and fhips, amidst damps and putrefaction; pale, torpid, spiritless, and helpless; gasping and groaning, unpitied among men, made obdurate by long continuance of hopeless milery; and were at last whelmed in pits, or heaved into the ocean, without notice and without remembrance. By incommodious encampments and unwholesome stations, where courage is useless, and enterprise impracticable, fleets are filently dispeopled, and armies fluggishly melted away."-Such, added Mr. Erskine, are the inevitable evils to which we expose the best and bravest What then are the advantages of our fellow subjects by war. we reap from it, even when the termination is most prosperous: and who are they that reap the profit—who are ready on all occasions to raise the voice of acclamation when war is proposed?

"Thus is a people gradually exhausted, for the most part, with little effect. The wars of civilised nations make very slow changes in the system of empire. The public perceives scarcely any alteration but an increase of debt; and the few individuals who are benefitted, are not supposed to have the clearest right to their advantages. If he that shared the danger enjoyed the profit, and after bleeding in the battle grew rich by the victory, he might shew his gains without envy. But at the conclusion of a ten years war, how are we recompensed for the death of multitudes and the expence of millions, but by contemplating the sudden glories of paymasters and agents, contractors and commissaries, whose equipages shine like meteors, and whose palaces rise

like exhalations?

"These are the men who, without virtue, labour, or hazard, are growing rich as their country is impoverished; they rejoice when obstinacy or ambition adds another year to slaughter and devastation; and laugh from their desks at bravery and science, while they are adding figure to figure, and cypher to cypher, hoping for a new contract from a new armament, and computing the profits of a siege or tempest."

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"These," said Mr. Erskine, " are the men, I know they " are, who dwell in palaces rather than common habitations, " who revel in luxury and riot; who, without virtue, industry, " or courage, derive a splendid revenue from the ruin of their " country; who look upon every new contract as an estate, for "which they would facrifice one half of their species; and when " the toils of battle are over, proudly despise the very men by " whose labours they became rich. I will not consent to the " ruin of my country by war, to oblige fuch characters. I fay, "you should deliberate again and again, before you go to war." He would not attack the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Pitt) who was not yet returned to that House; but he had afferted in the King's Speech, and the House had agreed to the truth of it, in their address, that the furplus, as it was called, would be sufficient to carry on the war without a fresh impofition of taxes. Did they really mean to fay that fuch a miferable pittance was sufficient to carry on the war, and that too at a time when we were hardly able to make the revenue meet the various claims upon it? What fort of a war was it to be that was thus to be supported, and that against a people who were described (but he did not join in that description) as having become favage beyond all reason, who have no sense of justice or humanity, and are aiming at universal dominion? But it feemed that his Right Honourable Friend (Mr. Fox) was a dangerous man to his country at the present moment from the opinions he held; and a Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Burke) must let loose all the virulence of invective against him because, after agreeing so long, they now happened to differ. He could never forget the fervices of that Right Honourable Gentleman, from whose writings he had learned much of the general principles of freedom, and much of those principles as modified by the British Constitution. But at the time those writings were published, the Right Honourable Gentleman and his opinions were treated with as much asperity in that House, as the opinions now held by his Right Honourable Friend, and those who supported them. " From the recollection of what is passed, let us learn to bear with one another, and not impute bad motives to those who differ from us. As to my Right Honourable Friend, I believe him to be a man born for great events, with a mighty mind to comprehend, and commanding eloquence to point out the true interests, joined to a temper most extraordinarily suited to give to these great qualities their due effect-formed by the bleffing of Providence to guard, to invigorate, to fave from ruin our Constitution, and to remedy vices of the times. He has faid that he will stand in the gap to preserve our Constitution; men of characters as irreproachy

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able as their talents are eminent, have faid they will stand with him, and can we have better fecurity?" He observed it had of late become a prerogative in the House to treat gentlemen rather as conspirators than Members of the House of Commons, if fpeaking of the French, they did not rail against them; and they were treated in the same way if they spoke of our government, and did not praise it. They were placed, as it were, in the fituation of a criminal who had to answer for an offence, rather than deliver an opinion. But to return to the question-We were to go to war, and the country was ready, in many parts, it was faid, to fall into a state of infurrection. If so, all he could say was, that we ought to take great care that we did not needlessly add to the public burdens, because it would add to the public discontent. The next question was, When was the war to be concluded? that is, at the accomplishment of what point? for there was nothing specified in that respect. If no limitation could be given, those who voted for a war, voted for that to which there was no termination. Confidering these points, and imagining that the motion of his Right Honourable Friend

tended to avert a war, he gave it his affent.

The MASTER OF THE RQLLS spoke against the motion, which he thought very ill-timed and improper. He knew not whom we were to fend an Ambaffador to, or for what purpose; and he asked if the Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Fox) would like to be the Ambassador, or if any other Honour-

able Gentleman would?

Mr. WYNDHAM begun by paying the due tribute of friendship and affection to Mr. Fox. He said, that although he differed from his Right Honourable Friend upon the prefent occasion, fuch was the respect due to his Right Honourable Friend's opinions upon all occasions, especially upon a complicated subject of foreign policy, in which his fuperior talents had been fo much engaged, that it was with peculiar pain he differed. After many years intimacy and agreement upon the great subjects of public and conflitutional discussion, he was extremely uneasy to think that there should be any difference upon the present question. He knew, however, the fimilarity of their dispositions and modes of thinking to be fuch, that he was confident there was at the bottom no difference in principle; but that it was rather the conlequence of their minds viewing a great complicated subject in different aspects, and being led by their views and feelings to conclusions which made a mere temporary difference of opinion. He was more particularly anxious to express himself upon the subject of his Right Honourable Friend at this time, because he found that, from an eagerness of disposition, there had been upon the part of some persons an intimation of improper motives, M 2

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dictating the conduct of his Right Honourable Friend, which, from the most intimate acquaintance with his motives and his actions, it was his most anxious desire to repel and contradict. It might be thought that this was a return which he made to the kind and flattering expressions which he was informed his Right Hon. Friend had made use of with regard to him in his absence. He begged leave to affure the House, that much as he regarded the praise of such a person and such a friend, he was not impelled by that motive, but by feeling it a duty at the time of fuch momentous consequences to express his high opinion, and thorough considence, from long experience in the integrity and purity of his Honourable Friend's motives and intentions. He admitted that the motion was a question of expediency, and so he would argue it. To fend a minister to France would wound the feelings and the interests of every other European court, and by alienating them from us, in case that, after all, we should be obliged to go to war, rebound upon ourselves. What would be the confequence, if the weight of Great Britain were taken from the confederacy, which it might be necessary to form against France, for the defence of all the rest of Europe: It would encourage all persons in all states, who were ill affected to the government of their country, if we, reputed the most free people in the world, were to acknowledge this new and extraordinary government of France, and weaken the necessary combination against the French mischief. It would be as bad as the retreat of the combined armies, which he for one lamented. If the fatal necessity should ever come of acknowledging the French Republic on its present principles, what worse could we do at last, than by the motion it was proposed to do now. If a thing humiliating and difgraceful was to be done, he would rather wait for the hour of necessity, and take necessity for his excuse, than feem to do that voluntarily which was unfit to be done; and as to doing a thing with a good grace, he could fee none in giving our fanction to murder and maffacre. Time alone made great changes both in men and circumstances; and it did not follow that if we must negociate at a future period, we must do so with the fame men and in the fame state of things. He concluded with declaring his decided opposition to the motion.

Mr. WHITBREAD faid it was the right of the people to know the opinion of their representatives, and it was the right of each Member of that House to express his opinion, and that should be done candidly and impartially. The abilities and integrity of the Right Honourable Gentleman who spoke last he never doubted; but, however great his respect, he would not pay so great a deserence to them as to give up his opinion upon

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the present subject. He had stated in effect that which alarmed him very much to hear, " that Great-Britan was in a confederacy against the French." [Here there was a vehement cry of No! No! No!]-" He must know better than I," said Mr. Whithread, " whether he did or did not fay fo, but I am impreff-" ed with that idea." Mr. Wyndham rofe to fay, that he had not faid Great Britain was in the confederacy against France. but that Great Britain ought not to act in such a manner as would preclude her from joining the confederacy.] Many gentlemen argued as if the question upon this motion was, whether we shall have peace or war with France? His Right Honourable Friend by that motion had not claimed the right of going to war with France at all, nor had he infifted upon avoiding it; all he faid was, that we should try the event of a negociation first, and if afterwards it was found we could not do without a war, he would affift government, and so he hoped they would all, with their fortunes and their lives. But it had been faid, that it would be a reproach to this country to negociate with France; we faid to the French, " Shall we negociate with you?"-" No! You are a parcel of rascals and affassins."-Here there was a triumphant cry of hear! hear! from the Minister's friends.]—Mr. Whitbread observed, that he was not standing up in defence of affassins, but he was standing up in defence of his country. The Honourable Gentleman who spoke last, had faid, it would be a degradation for us to negociate with the French at present; that the time might come when necesfity might compel us. What then did we fay to the French by this? "You are a parcel of affaffins; but if you affaffins compel us, we must negociate with you." Thus our confessing we negociated by necessity, would, according to the disposition we were pleased to give to the French, justify any act on theirs. We shall have given to a malicious disposition the highest possible provocation, and must bear the effect. In all the points in which he could view that observation, "that we should not treat with the French until necessity compelled us," it appeared to him to be the most futile he ever heard. Another thing had been stated, which he did not believe to be true, to the extent they wished to go; they faid that the French Republic was not acknowledged any where. He believed this was too general, for that the French Republic had been acknowledged. A learned gentleman (the Master of the Rolls) had asked who would go Ambaffador to France? He believed that no man, who had any regard for the interest of his country, would refuse to go. There were Ambassadors from several parts of Europe now at Paris, not indeed fent there fince the deposition of the King, but being there before, had remained; they might not have instructions

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from their different Courts to acknowledge the French Republic, but they were there. Sweden had an Ambassador there; and so he believed had our good ally, the Dutch; the heads of these men were still upon their shoulders, and he saw no danger to the British Minister, had he staid there after the dethronement of the monarch. As to the cause for which we were going to war, it was asked for what purpose? and to whom Mr. Erskine applied his quotation? The answer was obvious; he applied it to all those who talked of war with the French Republic in a tone of acclamation. For what were we going to war? For the exclufive navigation of the Scheldt? This feemed to him to be very unnatural; for he believed the course of rivers to belong to all the countries through which they flow, at least God and nature directed it fo; but perhaps some men might know better.— What objection had we to a negociation, as allies of the Dutch; they had opened a negociation for themselves; they have fuffered French veffels to go up the Scheldt, only entering in a protest in order to have the matter afterwards discussed. But it was faid, that if a negociation on our part was to be agreed on, we should not know with whom we were going to negociate; then we did not know with whom we were going to war. But all these objections were sophistical; for he knew there existed a provisional Executive Council in France, with whom any Court might treat; and his Right Honourable Friend had pointed that out clearly in his motion, and by a negociation with that Council we might fave this country from a ruinous war. But we were told, that this interfered with the Executive Government of the nation; then the question was refolved to this, "Has or has not this House a right to advise the Crown?" Could there be two opinions upon that question? It was not only their right, but it was also their duty, to advise the Crown in cases of importance to the interest of the country. He then took notice of the various reports of insurrections in different parts of the kingdom, stated by Mr. Dundas, but which appeared to be unfounded. There was faid to be fomething of that fort at Dundee; a gentleman who came from that quarter, had invalidated that to his fatisfaction. An infurrection had been faid to have taken place at Salifbury; a gentleman who was supposed to know, had faid, that no man in his senses could call it an infurrection. At Shields there had been a difturbance, but not of a political nature; and on the part of the populace the complaints were fo just that the very magistrates advised that they should be attended to. What then was meant by all the alarming military preparation all over the country? for he came through a vaft deal of it in his way to London. All he now wanted to know of the minister was, what answer he

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was to give to his constituents when he returned to them, if they should alk what was the reason of these military preparations; if not, he would fay

-Why do you make us fools of nature Thus fo horribly to shake our dispositions With thoughts beyond the reaches of our fouls?

At Manchester, indeed, there has been a riot, but that was fince the meeting of the House, and in consequence of what had been faid in it by some of the minister's friends, and the cry was Church and King; it was a loyal mob; so was the mob at Birmingham. What raifed it, and what would raife it?—The conduct of his Majesty's Ministers.—He had been accused of being an enemy to government; he was calumniated: he loved the Monarchy; he loved the Aristocracy; he loved the Democracy of this country; but he had no attachment to the abuses in any department whatever. This, he believed, was the fentiment of every man with whom he acted, and while his Honourable Friend and leader (Mr. Fox), with his transcendant abilities, and others he esteemed, stood in the gap beetween obstinacy and prejudice on the one hand, and unprincipled licentiousness on the other, he would stand by them, and fight by them, without fear or dread. While he was the leader, de Republica non desperandum.

Sir L. A. GRANT hoped that Great Britain would never act in so mean a manner as that which was prescribed by the Motion before the House. He spoke much against the modern doctrines with regard to the right of making war. He faid, that Executive Power ought never to be divided into parts; and that the business of government could not be carried on if the right of making war was to be at all regulated by the people. There might be fecrets of government which it was impossible to reveal without danger, and which were closely connected with the execution of that measure. Sir Alexander Grant mentioned, with great indignation, the artifices of those men who held up to the public view the advantages only of democracy, and spoke with the utmost virulence against monarchy and aristocracy. added, that the prefent was a measure extremely improper in point of time, and in its object both nugatory and difgraceful.

Sir WILLIAM YOUNG spoke loudly against the motion. He faid, the minds of the lower classes of men were in such a late, that he was afraid that his house might be destroyed, merely

because he was a magistrate.

Mr. BURKE congratulated the House on the acquisition of wo fuch members as the two young gentlemen who had spoken oably to night (Mr. North and Mr. Jenkinson), and shewn hat they were not only heirs to the abilities but to the constiutional principles of men formerly ornaments of the House. Malabis com, byrois

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might it always be. Might there be an eternal succession of talents and principles adverse to these new French doctrines-

Tumvos, O Tyrii, stirpem et genus omne futurum Exercete odiis : cinerique hæc mittite nostro Munera. Nullus amor populis nec sædera sunto. Litora litoribus contraria, sluctibus andas Inprecor, arma armis: pungent ipfi que nepotes.

He then proceeded to remark on Mr. Erskine's speech, who, he faid, always inftructed that House, as the ancient philosophers did their pupils, by proposing himself as their example. Concerning the law, constitution, or government of France, the learned gentleman indeed had faid nothing; he was right, for France had no law, government, or constitution, and therefore he was very properly filent; but although the French had none, the learned gentleman had a great deal of law, a great deal of government of himself, and an excellent constitution. In his speech there was a great deal of his own, and a great deal from Dr. Johnson, which was a good common place against war. It was written with elegance that never can be exceeded, and therefore he did not wonder that the learned gentleman preferred it to his ownbut there was a general principle, which was, to avoid war altogether, if possible—there was another, which was, "to avoid a civil war by entering on a foreign war, if no other way could be adopted." In this case, by our going to war with France, we should prevent France from stirring up a war in England; a thing which they had long meditated. He then observed to the House, that he had no enmity to Mr. Fox, for he had always spoken favourably of him to his friends, and he believed him to be incapable of any evil intention; but that, although Mr. Fox did not think so, his motion now before the House was replete with mischief. He next justified himself on the part he took in the affairs of France: he declared his difinterestedness; he never had, either for himself, or any part of his family, directly, or indirectly, received any fee or reward of any person whomsoever. He had nothing on that account, nor had any body for him any, either in reversion, remainder, or expectancy; he was, therefore, in that case, perfectly independent. With respect to this war it had been faid, that there will be an unwillingness on the part of the people to pay the expence of it: that might be the case, if it had been a wanton measure; but this was a war forced upon us, and therefore he hoped the public would pay the expence cheerfully. He observed, that if an Ambassador were sent from the King, he would be difregarded, as they had fworn destruction to all kings; and as there was already an Ambassador there for the people of England (Mr. Frost) he would precede the King's Ambassador upon the principles of the Rights of Man. He then entered into a diffuse account of the massacres and horrors

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horrors of France; and observed, that the French had neither honour, honefty, or any virtue whatever; that if a foreignet went there, he could not fee a countenance in which affaffination was not depicted. He spoke vehemently of THOMAS PAINE, and Inceringly of Mr. ERSKINE, for undertaking his defence. After indulging his fancy upon various topics, and difplaying his unexhausted wit, he observed, that when Mr. Fox gave notice of bringing this subject on, he had thought of moving an amendment, stating all the mischief the French had done to this country by means of their emissaries here, and correfpondence, &cc. that would publish to the world the justice of the war on one part, and would do a great deal of good all over the country, but he had not had time to digeft his plan with propriety. England should know that this was not the war of the king, nor the war of the king's minister, but a war brought on by the violence of the French, who were pursuing a plan utterly subverfive of all government, liberty, and order. He faid, there never was a war better founded on the principles of justice and of freedom than this, which he repeatedly declared not to be a measure now in debate, but decided; for that we were actually at war with France already. He should therefore vote against the motion of Mr. Fox, because, with a thousand other reasons, it tended to impede the progress of the war. DESCRIPTION DE

[While Mr. Burke was speaking, a member was named by the Speaker as interrupting the decorum of debate. He was ordered to withdraw, and after some convertation on enforcing the order for centuring him in his place, on his sending in an apology by another member, it was agreed to pass over the whole matter.]

Mr. COURTENAY observed, there were three propositions maintained by certain Gentlemen, First, That we were now actually at war; - Secondly, If an Ambaffador was fent to France, it would be a degradation to us; - Thirdly, That it was the duty of all Europe to join to exterminate the whole of the The Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. French people. Burke) had always been of opinion, that the French should be destroyed as a vicious race of metaphysicians, but now he seemed to wish them to be destroyed to the third and fourth generation. The reason of sending an Ambassador to France was, to know whether the Executive Government of France will treat with. the Executive Government of this country; and whether all that had been reprefented in the public papers of France as accounts of their decrees, &cc. were meant at all events to be carried into effect by them. What difficulty or degradation was there? We could not fee, it feems, in France, the face of a man who was

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not a murderer. I was not there, faid Mr. Courtenay, in the days of chivalry, so sublimely described by the Right Honourable Gentleman, but I was there fince that time, and I faw undoubtedly what pleafed me quite as well at that fight would. I faw the genuine principle of liberty displayed; I saw a revival of the ancient Roman greatness; true energetic freedom, a real republican spirit, which gives energy to the foul of man, a spirit to which despots are strangers, except when they are conquered by it. I faw in France one hundred thousand men, when an equal number of their enemies were within a few miles of their capital, take up their arms, swear to defend their country, to fight, to die for it. I faw the women coming forwards with their infants at their breafts, kils their hufbands, and fay, Go drive away or destroy the enemies of our country, and we will take care of our children until your return. To the aftonishment of Europe, they did drive away the enemy. He concluded by a compliment to Mr. Fox, and supported the motion.

Sir J. MURRAY thought the occasion favourable for going to war; animadverted on the danger to Prussia from the French getting near Westphalia, the most flourishing of the Prussian dominions, and therefore, perhaps, the most prone to innovation; and descanted on the causes of the Duke of Brunswick's retreat, which he said was not because he was beaten, but because he could not advance. He disapproved of the Duke's manifesto, but said that he never attempted, nor even meant to act accord-

ing to it.

Mr. SHERIDAN began with observing that it had not been his intention to have faid a word on the prefent question, and indeed he had been able to attend only a part of the debate; the substance of the motion had been discussed in the debate of yelterday, and his Honourable Friend had given notice that he should make this motion merely to record on the Journals his protest against the proceedings which the House was so weakly running into, and this he (Mr. Fox) had done at a time when he deprecated discussion, because, as the House knew, he had not voice to defend his opinion.—Gentlemen on the other fide however had thought proper to raise their tone upon the confession of the inability of his Honourable Friend to defend his arguments, and never fince he had fat in Parliament had he heard a question so perversely argued, or the mover of it so unjustly treated. This compelled him to trespals on the indulgence of the House, late as the hour was, and he must be excused for paying no respect whatever to the observations of a Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Burke), that it was improper to bring forward these discussions in the absence of his Majesty's first mimilter!—This tender respect to the dignity of office was now in that

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that Right Honourable Gentleman, but he must be permitted to say, that the representation of the country was indeed placed in a degraded light, if it was to be maintained that the great Council of the Nation was not in this momentous crifis a competent Court to discuss the dearest interests of the people, unless the prefence of a certain minister of the crown fanctioned their delibe-But on what ground did they regret the absence of the rations. But on what ground did they regret the ablence of the trealury leader? Had there appeared any want of numbers or ability to compensate for this loss? what exertion that he could have furnished had been unsupplied? Had there been any want of splendid and sonorous declamation to cover a meagerness of argument? any want of virulence or invective to supply the place of proof in acculation? any want of inflammatory appeals to the pallions where reason and judgment were unsafe to be reforted to? Unquestionably, in all these respects, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not been missed; in one article indeed they might be justified in regretting his absence. They had been pressed to prove the facts afferted in the King's speech and in the Proclamation—not an atom of information could any prefent member of the government furnish; doubtless therefore the infurrection was a fecret deposited in the breast of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he had taken in his pocket all the proofs of the plot to affift his election at Cambridge. Mr. Sheridan then laid, that as he certainly should not follow the Right Hon. Member (Mr. Burke, through the fury of his general invective, so neither would he pursue him in that vein of lightness and pleasantry by which he had contrived to make the gravest hour this country ever faw appear to be a moment of peculiar mirth and relaxation. He would confine himself strictly to the question, which he thought lay in a very narrow compals. Honourable Friend had recommended, that before we plunged into a war, and drew upon the treasure and blood of the people of Great Britain, we should try, if possible, to settle the matter in dispute by negociation, and shew to the people that we had so This his Hon. Friend had recommended as a duty which we owed to our constituents, be the character and principles of the power with whom we are disputing what they may. Was it credible that a proposition of this nature should have been received with such heat? Reason and duty at any other time must have supported it. But the fact was, that the moment was unfortunate; the time was full of heat and irritation, natural and artificial; government had thought it their interest to inflame this disposition. Intelligence was expected of a catastrophe in France, which all humane hearts deprecated, and would equally deplore; in this temper, therefore, the public mind was worked up to a blind and furious hostility against France, and the dearest interests N 2

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of our own country were to be risqued at the call of a momentary enthufialm, which, if not bottomed in found policy and found fense, was sure not to be lasting. Could there be a stronger proof of this temper, than the manner in which an honourable and learned Member (Mr. Grant) had supported his argument. The most successful passage in his able speech turned upon a passionate appeal to the pride and dignity of the English nation. He thinks proper to assume, that any thing like negociation at present would be a Petition for mercy and forbearance from the French nation; and then he triumphantly exclaimed, with a triumphant cry, acknowledging the excellence of his argument, Draw your Petition, and where is the man with a British heart within his bosom who will sign it! What unfairness is this! faid Mr. Sheridan; and how can a man of his abilities stoop to a trick of argument which he must despile. Petition! ridiculous! Was there no mode between nations of demanding explanation for an injury given or meditated but by petition? Did we petition the Court of Spain in the affair of Nootka Sound? Did we petition France in the dispute respecting this very Holland in 1787! Or did the learned Gentleman believe that, notwithstanding these instances, there was something so peculiarly meek, pliant, and bending in the character of the first Minister, that it was quite impossible for him to assume a losty tone or a haughty air for any purpose. The case of Russia, however, Mr. Sheridan ridiculed and excepted. To judge by that alone, he admitted that the learned Gentleman might be justified in apprehending that every menace of this government was to end in an act of meanness; that, whenever he saw the minister in the attitude of threatening, he might expect to fee him in the act of conceding; and that, if he armed, it was in order to petition for mercy. Without this inference from the past conduct of the Administration, the general argument was idle, and all the proud acclamations it had produced were wholly thrown away.

In adverting to what had been urged in opposition to the motion of his Right Hon. Friend, it was his intention not to notice the arguments of those who opposed it only under certain circumstances and modifications, such as the present situation of France, with regard to its unfortunate monarch, &c. but to confine himself finally to those who declared themselves adverse to all negociations whatever, under any circumstances, and at any period. In the first place it had been urged against treating, that we were actually in a state of war already. To this he replied, he could not believe such an affertion; for when he looked at his Majesty's most gracious Speech from the Throng, he there found the hope expressed of being able to preserve peace; a hope that would be futile and delusive, if peace were actually sted. It had been asked of what use negociation could

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be in the present posture of affairs? Of none certainly, if indeed we were in a state of actual hostility; but if otherwise, as he had a right to hope, he would tell them, on the 14th of last month we had made public, at the Hague, our determination of supporting our good friend and allies the Dutch, if the French should attack them: just two days after, namely on the 16th, that is before they could possibly have any knowledge of such declaration, did the French National Convention declare their determination of rendering free the Navigation of the Scheldt. Now who shall say, that if punctilios would permit us to send a proper person to treat with them, they would not be glad of an opportunity of retracting a declaration made in the ignorance of our intentions, and thus enable us to avoid all the horrors of war! Just so was the situation of the late Emperor Joseph. upon precifely the same point. When that monarch formed the resolution of opening the navigation of the Scheldt, the French, When that monarch formed the who were guarantees, as well as we, to its being kept thut, what did they do? Proceed to immediate war? No; they prudently and properly began by negociation—a negociation, not of submission, but of determination to support, if ultimately netellary, the rights of their allies. What was the event? Such as might naturally be expected from fuch a prudent course; without a blow being struck, or a drop of blood spilt, the differences were terminated, and the honour of all parties preferved

Mr. Sheridan next adverted to the declaration of Mr. Wyndham, that as he was of opinion that moral propriety prohibited our treating or having any intercourse with France, he had rather, if it ever took place, that it should be matter of necessity, and not of choice. This Mr. Sheridan treated as a fentiment not conditient with the plual pregision of understanding which characterised that Hon. Gentleman. It was admitted that some time or other we must treat with the French, for eternal war, or the extirpation of the nation, was not yet avowed by any one. Necessity then was to be looked to, to give us a moral excuse; and whence was that necessity to arrive-from defeat, from discomsiture, from shame and difference? Happy prospect to look to, which would excuse us as it did the Duke of Saxe Teschen in his glorious retreat from the contamination of treating with this nation of robbers and munlerers, as they are fliled. Happy, dignified opportunity, to treat, when we should be completely at their mercy. Unquestionably we should then be justified, and certainly we should be undone, But the Honourable Gentleman argued as if this cafe of necessity, through defeat, could alone justify us in negociating with fuch a foe. What! did he not perceive that an equal necessity might arise from our success? We went to war for a specific

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Admit that we are victorious and obtain it-is not the war to cease when the object of it is obtained? and if to cease, how but by some intercourse or agreement of some fort or other? Here there would be a fituation in which negociation must arise, not from necessity and defeat, but from victory and justice; all nicety and strained morality, and mock dignity, therefore, about the thing itself, was trifling; and as to waiting that time might operate, he did not conceive that if that time was to be ipent in war and blows, that much advance would be made in the spirit of conciliation. In stating the question this way, Mr. Sheridan faid, he argued on the declared grounds which his Majesty's speech and the ministers gave for the war; for if he were to argue on the ground on which the war was urged with such impaffioned and popular eloquence by other gentlemen, in that case he must despair of ever seeing peace return to the earth. With them was the motive to keep faith with our allies? was the object to preserve Holland? or to resent the incendiary decree of the National Convention? Nothing like it through all their speeches; they scarcely deigned to mention such little and No-their declared object was to avenge all limited purposes. the outrages which have been committed in France, to reinstate, if possible, all that has been overthrown, to exterminate the principles and the people who preach the principles which they reprobate. As Philip demanded the orators of Athens to be dedelivered up to him, as his most formidable enemies, these gentlemen must have all the democratic metaphysicians of France extirpated, if they cannot fleep in their beds. In short, the whole bearing of the arguments and instigations they used to rouse the House to hostility, went to advise a war which never was to cease but in the total overthrow of the French Republic, and the extermination of all who had supported it. House, was the country, Mr. Sheridan demanded, ready to vote a war for fuch an object, and on fuch principles? We were told that we must not differ with the Allied Powers, with whom we were in future to co-operate. - Were we then to make a common cause in the principles, and for the purposes for which these despots associated? Were the free and generous people of England ready to subscribe to the Duke of Brunswick's Manifesto? that hateful outrage on the rights and feelings of human nature, that wretched tiffue of impotent pride, folly, and inhumanity, that Proclamation which had steeled the heart and maddened the brain of all France, which had provoked those it had devoted to practife all the cruelties it had impotently threatened to inflict, which had sharpened the daggers of the affaffins

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affaffins of the 2d of September, which had whetted the axe now suspended over the unfortunate monarch—was the nation ready to subscribe to this absurd and detestable rhapsody? An Honourable Officer (Sir James Murray) had attempted to defend this performance, but how i by denying that it intended what it professed and threatened. From a British officer, of his character and understanding, no other defence could be expected; the Honourable Baronet had given instances where the conduct of the Prussian army contradicted the spirit of their Manifesto;what instances, on the other side, might be adduced, Mr. Sheridan faid, he would not then discuss. One case alone had been sufficient to decide him as to the true spirit of the league-The brutal rigour with which La Fayette had been treated :whatever else he was, he was a brave man, and he was in their power. The use they made of that power sufficiently shewed how they would have treated others, whom they might well confider as entitled to tenfold enmity. The worthy Baronet, con-cluded Mr. Sheridan, thinks they never meant to carry their Proclamation into execution; -I thank God they never had the opportunity. Mr. Sheridan proceeded to reprobate the idea of Great Britain engaging in the war on the principles of the allies, and yet how difficult was it to co-operate in their efforts, yet disconnect their motives and their ends. This was a serious consideration for Parliament. The question was not merely whether we should go to war or not, but on what principle, to what end, and pledged to what confederacy we should war? For his part, he had declared, and, he hoped, with fufficient frankness and fairness, that, if war must be, the defence of the country and its conflitution would be the fingle confideration in his mind! and for that purpose he would support the Executive Government, in whatever hands his Majesty placed it. But in this declaration he referred to a war undertaken on the necessity, and directed to the objects stated by his Majesty and his minis-He did not refer to the crusade of chastisement and vengeance, which the zeal of some gentlemen recommended, and the clamour of the House seemed so ready to adopt. He would never content that one English guinea should be spent, or one drop of British blood be shed, to restore the ancient despotism of France—that bitterest foe that England ever knew. Sooner than support such objects, or such a project, he would rather violate the proud feelings which he shared in common with the House, and petition for peace, with any concession, and almost by any facrifice; but he trusted no fuch dilemma impended. The real object of the war was one thing—the fiery declaration which was to whet our valour was another. Mr. Sheridan now adverted to the strange situation in which the House might bring

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ittelf, by indulging and encouraging this furious spirit of declamation, against the meanness and infamy of holding any fort of treaty and intercourse with France. It was, in the first place, a libel on his Majesty's Speech, and upon our own Address. His Majesty had encouraged us to hope, that, notwithstanding his armament, he might yet procure to us the bleffings of peace; and we have thanked and encouraged him in his gracious inten-How was this to be achieved? Disputes and cause of complaint existing, without some fort of communication it was impossible.—How was this to be carried on—was there any force of dumb crambo, by which the parties might come to understand each other; and yet the form of negociation be slipe from, and the moral dignity of Great Britain be preserved? An Honourable Gentleman, indeed (Mr. Burke) had warned the House to be tender of advising his Majesty in the exercise of his prerogative; yet he himself had actually usurped the first prerogative of the Crown; and, in contradiction to the King's express declaration, declared the nation to be actually at war. But what was to be faid, if, after all this, the minister, then returning to his feat in the House, should bring us the happy intelligence, that, in consequence of explanation and treaty, the calamities of war were actually averted ! Mr. Sheridan pressed this very forcibly, and afferted peremptorily, that, at the very moment in which the House was wirged to a flame, at the idea of our stooping to the contamination of ireating with France, the Minister was actually negociating, not only through Holland, but directly with agents from the French Executive Council. Should his efforts be fuccessful, observe, said Mr. Sheridan, how you must treat him on his return: if he should tell you that a temperate explanation has taken place; that the French had abandoned all idea of attacking our ally; that they had rescinded the incendiary decrees and declarations which had countenanced the difaffected in England, and that this peaceful and prosperous country might return to that state of applauded neutrality which we have just thanked his Majesty for adhering to; thus we must anfwer, "Go, thou mean wretch, thou betrayer of the pride and dignity of the Crown, and of the Nation, thou contaminated man, debased by intercourse with the agents of robbers, ruffians, murderers, and atheifts—we only diffembled when we applauded your neutrality; we detest your peace, and we meant to dupe our Sovereign, when we called upon him to preserve it."-Would the House make this answer, should such happy intelligence be brought them? and will they own that they played the hypocrite in their Address to their King?-Mr. Sheridan next took notice of the argument of the inutility of any negociation, the French having ordered Dumourier to open the Scheldt He stated the dates, by which it appeared that that order

order was given before our declaration, that we would support the States General, could have known in Parls; why had no reprefentation been made to France on that subject? A similar circumstance had occurred in 1785, when the Emperor seized the Scheldt. The determination of the French to upport the Dutch their then ally, was subsequently made known to him inegociation enfued, and he abandoned his project. Laftly, Mr. Sheridan stated the various grounds on which he thought, if war must be the event, that preparation should be instant and Paris offer the King was declarated between the hoteles after the king of

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He then took notice of the sueer of an Honourable Gentleman when he asked whether he (Mr. Fox) would be the Am baffador to Paris? He declared, that from the commencement of the Revolution he had been of opinion, that if there had been a flatelman-like administration, they would have considered the post of Minister at Paris, as the situation which demanded the hiff and ablest talents of the country. Happy he believed it would have been for both countries, and for human nature itfelf, if fuch had been the opinion of Government in this country, and highly as he valued his Honourable Friend, unparalleled as he thought his talents were, he should not have hefitated to have declared, that as Minister in Paris there was scope and interest for the greatest mind that ever warmed a human bosom. The French had been uniformly partial, and even prejudiced, in favour of the English. What manly fense, what vigorous intellects, what generous feelings, communicating with them. might have done, and above all, what fair truth and plain dealings might have effected, he believed it was not easy to calculate; but the withholding all these from that nation in our hollow neutrality, he was fure, was an error which would be for ever to be lamented. He concluded with a reference to Lord Sheffield's declaration, that he was afhamed of the enthuhalm that he had once felt for Mr. Fox. This declaration Mr. Sheridan treated with the indignant zeal which friendship de manded, and justice warranted. The according chorus of the noble band, who, in spite of the efforts of clamour and power! have furrounded the standard of the Champion of the Constitution, tellified how little they valued the desertion of this noble pole, but to demand fer Machon: and if the

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS replied in a short speech to Mr. Sheridan. In the discussion of the night, although it had gone? into great length, he had heard nothing new, and want of now velty would feldom be complained of ... When the Honourable Gentleman who fpoke laft role, he thought all the arguments that were used had been fully answered on the former hight ; all the facts in the Proclamation, and the Speech from the Throne, the House had already decided on. One affertion, that of a negociation now depending, was of a nature which a Minifter could not fafely answer; because, whether he admitted or denied it, he disclosed what might be unfit to be disclosed. All therefore that he could fay on the subject was, that the Honourable Gentleman's affertion was not compatible with his belief, Mr. Dundas repeated this in more guarded terms; that, in his opinion, he believed, that it was not compatible with his belief. With regard to the Ambaffadors of other Courts remaining at Paris after the King was dethroned, he knew nothing of it: but he believed that the Dutch had observed the same conduct that the English Court did. To sum up the whole, he would put it on this iffue: If under the former government of France, while we had an Ambassador in France, and France an Ambassador here, the French government had received persons from this country, complaining of the Constitution, and proposing an alliance to fubvert it, and given a favourable answer to such persons, what would have been the duty of his Majesty's Ministers? Would it not have been to recall our Ambaffador, and order the French Ambassador to quit this country? How then could we now fend an Ambassador to France, when the present French government had notoriofly done the very fame thing?

Mr. FOX, with a hoarseness so severe as made it very difficult for him to speak at all, said it was physically impossible for him to fay much, and he did not intend it. - If I thought the circumstances such as the case stated by the Right Honourable Secretary, I would not make my motion; but from his Majesty's Speech and the Address of the House in answer to it, I was authorifed to think otherwise. Would the Right Honourable Secretary in any case recall our Ambassador, and order the French Ambaffador to leave this country before we had actually determined on war? I think he would not; and that war is not yet determined on appears from this, that his Majesty from the throne has affured us that nothing will be neglected by him that can contribute to the important object of preferving the bleffings of peace, and for this affurance we have returned thanks in our Address. If I sent an Ambassador to France, I would not inferuct him to petition, as some Gentlemen are pleased to suppose, but to demand satisfaction; and if that were denied, to return. The chief point maintained by me in making this motion, is not that the people are always to be confulted on the expediency of going to war, but that on all occasions they ought to be truly informed what the subject of the war is. If my motion is not adopted, and war should ensue. I fear there will be much doubt about what is the true caufe, and that some will think we are fighting for one thing and fome for another. The I hrone

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Right Honourable Gentleman who has taken fo warm and fo able a part in this debate, afferts peremptorily that we are actually at war, and yet he voted for the Address, thanking his Majesty for his endeavours to preserve the blessings of peace. He directly contradicts both the Ministers and the Speech from the Throne. They praise his eloquence in their support, but take care not to adopt his opinions. Whenever you do treat, and that you must treat some time or other nobody can deny, you must treat with the existing power, and if you refuse to do that now which you know must be done at fome time or other, you give away the opportunity of faving Holland from a war, of preferving to her the monopoly of the Scheldt without a war, and of obtaining the revocation of that resolution of the Executive Council of which I perhaps think as ill as you do.

If the point in dispute be, whether we shall negociate by a Minister, or by means of Secretaries communicating with Ministers, I do not think that a sufficient cause of war. I have done my duty in submitting my ideas to the House, and in doing this I could have no other motives than those of public duty. Mr. Fox concluded with remarking, that he had been censured for having made his Motion, but to please whom had he made it? Had he made it to please his Majesty's Minis. ters? No. Had he made it to please those of his own friends who differed from him? No. Had he made it for popularity? No: for he knew that it was extremely unpopular. He had made his Motion because he thought it his duty; and that the people of England, by whom his house might be served like Mr. Cooper's, Mr. Walker's, and Dr. Priestley's, might lee what measure he conceived ought to have been adopted, and

was alone conducive to their real interests. Mr. DRAKE rose, and said, that he could not help speaking with animation on a question of so much importance, and of fuch great danger. The question, he afferted, was, whether we should have a constitution by law, or anarchy? whether we should have security or homicide? religion or atheism? His adelity to his God, and his loyalty to his King, he faid, would make him a determined supporter of the English Constitution as eltablished by the virtue of our ancestors.

The Question was then put, and negatived without a division. At half after twelve on Sunday morning, the House adjourned

to MONDAY.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

DECEMBER 17.

LORD CARLISLE rose, and, after a short introductory speech, moved, 0 2

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"That the Thanks of this House be given to the Marquis Cornwallis, for his diftinguished military fervices in the East "Indies, and for the termination of the war in that country upon " advantageous and noble terms." a succeeding out the vide

The Lord Speaker to deliver the same to Marquis Cornwallis,

when he shall see him in his place in this House.

"That the Thanks of this House be given to Major General " Medows, and Major General Abercrombie, for their late im-

"portant military services in the East Indies:" in the East Indies:

And that the Lord Speaker of this House, do transmit the fame to the faid Major General Medows, and Major General and as parabolity to ram a monthusible Abercrombie.

His Lordship afterwards made the following Motions.

That this House does highly approve of the late conduct " of the Officers and Forces employed in the British Service " in the East Indies."—And point on diagra

That the Lord Speaker do transmit the same to the Com-" mander in Chief of the British Forces in India, and that he

" do communicate the fame to the feveral corps."

The further confideration of the trial of Warren Hastings, Esq. was, upon motion, fixed for the second Tuesday in February week; and a message ordered to be sent to the House of Com-

mons to acquaint them therewith.

LORD LOUGHBOROUGH presented a bill for the renewal of the Lord's Act, which expired last Session of Parliament. His Lordship proposed that the limited sum, mentioned in the Act, of 2001. be extended to 3001; which his Lordship said was no greater degree of credit at this time then 100l. was when the act was first passed in 1738.—It was read a first time. Adjourned to the 19th.

DECEMBER 10.

LORD GRENVILLE rose, he said, to offer their Lordships a bill which the times made necessary.

Their Lordships need not be told, that there were a number of foreigners at prefent in the kingdom of various descriptions.

He did not conceive it necessary to mention any individual; but it was the opinion of the first lawyers, that his Majesty was, and had been, possessed of a power of preventing aliens to come into this country, The Crown had exercised this prerogative; but as the necessity of exercising it did not occur for some time back, it had fallen into defuetude.

To avoid all disputes on so delicate a subject, he held a bill in his hand, which, in the present crisis of affairs, he trusted their Lordships would adopt, especially as it neither went to increase

or diminish the powers of the Crown,

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It was his intention to move, that it should be read a first time, and printed; and on the second reading, when every noble Lord would have it in his hand, he should propose to open the provisions of it.

His Lordship then presented his Bill, which was entitled—
"An Act for establishing Regulations respecting Aliens ar"riving in this Kingdom, and resident therein, under certain
"Cases."

The principal heads of the Bill are as follows:

Masters and commanders of ships shall give to the Collector a lift of all Foreigners they bring to this kingdom, with their names, rank, and occupation.—All Foreigners, above the age of 16 (alien merchants and mariners excepted) shall give in their names and places of abode, their former occupation, and the place that he, she, or they came from.—All arms, ammunition, warlike weapons, and gunpowder, in their possession, to be conficated.—They shall not travel without a passport from the Mayor, or other civil officer where they first land, and they shall not go from town to town without a paffport from the Chief Magistrate where they reside. Justices are impowered to detain any foreigner on suspicion, until his Majesty's pleafure be known.—His Majesty may command any foreigner to depart.—Notices to be publicly printed in different languages, and personal delivery of notice not necessary to conviction. Persons offending against this Act to be transported for life, after trial and conviction.—Secretaries of State may grant warrants for apprehending and imprisoning aliens, in order to conduct them, according to their rank, out of the kingdom.—Persons apprehended and imprisoned under this Act, to remain in gaol without bail or mainprize, until delivered by due course of law. -All aliens who have arrived fince the 1st of January, 1702. come within the meaning of this Act; and they shall all and each give in their names and places of abode, and their lodgings may be fearched for arms or gunpowder.—Magistrates may fummon fuspected aliens to appear before them.—The judges in Westminster Hall may admit to bail.—All aliens shall give before a justice a true and faithful account of all arms and ammunition in their possession, and deliver up the same.

The Act to continue in force until January, 1794. It was read the first time, and ordered to be printed.

DECEMBER 20.

LORD GRENVILLE moved, that the fecond reading of the Bill for imposing certain restrictions on Foreigners, while resident in this country, should be postponed till to-morrow.

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The MARQUIS of LANSDOWNE faid, that he came down to the House impressed with an idea, that the second reading was to have come on this day. He had revolved the subject in his mind, and the more he had confidered it, the less he was disposed to countenance the measure. It implicated in its confideration many great and important questions, such as required the most ferious investigation. To the principles of the Bill he was not less averse, than to that precipitancy with which it was attempted to be hurried through the House. It was therefore of that ferious nature, that he thought the Bill should not be hurried through the forms of Parliament without a full attendance, and for this reason he would move that their Lordships be sum-

The motion of the Noble Marquis was agreed to, and the

House adjourned.

DECEMBER 21.

LORD GRENVILLE having moved the Order of the Day for the second reading of the Bill for establishing regulations respecting Aliens arriving in this kingdom, or relident therein, in

certain cases,

The MARQUIS of LANSDOWNE rose. His Lordship observed, that the disturbances in a neighbouring kingdom having driven a very confiderable number of its inhabitants into this country, it certainly was become a subject of serious consideration what should be done with them. Since his arrival in town, he had attended a meeting of one of the charitable focieties chablished for procuring these friendless foreigners relief; and he found that, more than one month ago, there were not fewer than 7000, he might perhaps venture to fay near 8000 persons of this description, who had taken shelter in England. Their only resource was in the humanity and generosity of the English nation, which had certainly been nobly exercised in their behalf; but when he should state that the expence of supporting them amounted to nearly 1000l. a week, their Lordships must be convinced that the benevolence of individuals must foon become inadequate to the claims upon it, which were daily increafing. He had heard that Ministers had it in contemplation to fend these unfortunate refugees to the western part of Canada, there to give them grants of lands, and enable them to form fettlements. He very much approved of the measure, but was of opinion, that before it was carried into execution, this country ought to take some steps to try what France might ultimately do for these poor people, whom the ruling powers in that nation had thought proper to banish. Possibly she might confeht to receive them back again, or contribute to the means of their

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their support in exile. How the opinion of France on this subject might be procured was the only difficulty that could be feen in the case. For his own part, he did not consider the difficulty as infurmountable, for we might do that to which he was forry to find there was an objection; we might fend a Minister to

Paris to treat directly on this head.

His Lordship said, that it was on this head alone that he wished to have a communication with France: there was another object which interested every man of feeling, every man of virtue, juffice, and humanity, he meant the impending fate of the unfortunate King, whom it must be the wish of every noble Lord in that House, and of every man in the nation, to fave from the horrors of what it might be feared awaited him. He was not disposed to flatter that Prince, though if flattery could ever be exculable, it would be when it was offered to a person in distress; but truth compelled him to say, that if ever Prince had merits to plead with his people, it was Louis XVI. During a reign of fixteen years, it was his confrant study to make them happy; and during that period he never once, till within the last fix months, entertained a thought of confulting his own interest as distinct from that of his subjects. Such a king was not a fit object for punishment, and to fcreen him from it every nation ought to interpole its good offices; but England, above all, was bound to do to, because he had reason to believe that what had encouraged the French to bring him to trial, was the precedent established by England in the unfortunate and difgraceful case of Charles the rifft. He believed, at the fame time, that no nation could interpole with so much effect in behalf of the ill-fated Monarch at Paris, as the English; for he was fully persuaded, that the French entertained a high opinion of the judgment of the English, of their justice, and of their honour, which had been to strongly manifested by the exact neutrality observed by the Britith Government during the course of the French Revolution.

It was the duty of England to stand forward on this occasion to prevent a cataffrophe which probably would never have been thought of, had not the brought one of her monarchs to the block, and it was doubly their duty, as it was probable, that were the to negociate for the life of the unfortunate Prince to whom he alluded, the would not negociate in vain. He was happy in having received the intelligence this day of a nature which gave him ground for hoping, that we should not be called upon to act hastily against France, for by a letter from Holland, he was affured that our allies, the Dutch, did not confider the opening of the Scheldt as a matter of luch confequence as to make them run the hazard of a war for the purpole of pre ent-

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ing it; and that they therefore had determined not to call upon England to affift them in maintaining the exclusive navigation of that river. He did not hefitate to pronounce this a wife determination; and he believed it would have been prudent had they never thought of shutting up the Scheldt. Every one knew, that down from the time of Sir William Temple, the great ftrength of Holland, the principal fource of her wealth, was the fishery, for which Amsterdam was much more commodiously fituated than Antwerp. He was not able to fee how England had been brought to concur in shutting up rivers; for what nation could derive fo much advantage from an open and free navigation, as that which carried on the most extensive trade in the world? Of late years a policy hostile to exclusion had begun to gain ground: in the treaty which he had had the fortune to conclude, and which put an end to the last war, he had not lost fight of this policy, for he had stipulated for a free navigation of the Miffiffippi, though the pofferfions which we had on its banks were fo infignificant as fcarcely to be worth mentioning. It was from the navigation of the river, and not from these possessions, that he looked in time for folid advantages to the trade and profperity of England. He rejoiced that the Dutch had given up the exclusive navigation of the Scheldt, not merely on account of the advantages which we might derive from the opening of it, but chiefly because we should by such a measure be freed from the necessity of going to war. In that case, therefore, Ministers might not find it a difficult matter to reconcile it to their feelings, to open a communication with France, and negociate with her not merely on our account, but on that of other powers of Europe actually at war, and endeavour to prevent the carnage and expence of another campaign. Austria and Prussia must have fuffered so much from the last, as not to find it an easy matter to provide the means of carrying on another, at so great a distance from the center of their strength. Germany he believed was not prepared to refift the torrent of French opinions, even from the stations which the French armies at this moment occupied, although they should proceed no farther. Prussia, he would venture to fay, would foon return to her old prejudices in favour of an alliance with France, and negociate a peace. Austria would foon be without refources; for though she was usually strong when she was at war with the Turks, it was not the case when she was at war with France. The reason was obvious; for when she took the field against the former her capital generally flowed back into her own country; but when the acted against the French her money was spent at such a distance from home, that it was scarcely possible it should find its way back. One of the great causes of the present immense wealth of England, was the

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new fystem of keeping her capital at home, instead of sending it abroad to enrich the lands, commerce, and manufactures of foreign nations. Hence it was, that when there was a question of making canals, or opening a new road to speculation, the sums which individuals were ready to adventure, were aftonishingly great. These advantages would be lost by a foreign war, which would carry the capital out of the country, and enrich other powers at our expence. Our Ministers should therefore be very careful how they encouraged Austria and Prussia to profecute the present war, because it was impossible that those powers should be able to do fo without our millions, which, once fent to Germany, would never find their way back to England. For these reasons he was strongly for adhering to the system of neutrality hitherto observed by Great Britain; his voice was for peace abroad, and union at home; and for the attainment of these objects, he thought it would be found policy in us to negociate with France: we were great, we were powerful, the French esteemed us, and consequently we might be fure that we should be able to negociate But as two points in particular, namely the fate of with effect. the King of France, and the situation of the French Refugees in this country, were of a very pressing nature, he had drawn up two Resolutions on these two points, which he would strongly recommend to the ferious confideration of their Lordships. had taken great pains in the wording them, for the purpose of removing objections to them on both fides of the water, and rendering them as palatable as possible both to the ruling powers of France and England. Here his Lordship read his two intended Refolutions, viz.

"That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, requesting that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to take such measures as to his Royal wisdom will seem meet, for conveying to such persons on whom the sate of Louis XVI. depends, the solicitude of his Majesty, and of this country, for the personal safety of that unhappy Prince, by the most effectual means, and in the strongest terms, consistent with the respect due to an independent nation."

"Also, that an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, praying, that he may be graciously pleased to send a proper person to France, to manifest his compassion for the situation of the unfortunate Emigrants in this country, representing that they are threatened with famine, but that he is ready to concert such measures as may yield relief to those unfortunate people, by giving them a settlement in the western parts of Canada, and requesting that they may be made some restitution by the French nation."

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His Lordship faid, he was anxious only about the substance of the Refolutions, and should he succeed in procuring the approbation of the House as to that, he would readily confent to any alteration in the words which their Lordships might propose. He had two objects in view; one was to fave the life of an unfortunate and deferving Prince, which he trufted might be attained, when it should be known in France, that it was the unanimous wish of all descriptions of men in England that he should not fuffer; the other, to try if it was not possible to procure for the French Refugees in this country some relief from the government of their own country. Both objects he considered as attainable. With respect to the former, he meant that whoever should be sent to France by his Majesty, should be allowed all the means likely to render his mission successful; he meant he should be impowered to employ all means short of war to fave France, to fave Europe, to fave human nature from the difgrace of the act which all would deplote, and every one would With respect to the Resugees, he declared, he wish to avert. was influenced by no one motive that was personal to him-He must, however, acknowledge, that himself and family, in common with all Englishmen of any distinction, had experienced at the hands of many of those unfortunate people the greatest kindness, attention, and hospitality; to the French Clergy, in particular, they were greatly indebted on this head; for it was well known by all foreigners, that in France it was chiefly the Clergy who did the honours of the nation. worthy and hospitable men, driven from their houses and from their property, had claims upon the generolity of Englishmen, which had been most handsomely admitted, and which he trusted would continue to be admitted, until fuch time as France would become more just to a most deserving body of subjects; or until England should have furnished them with the means of forming fettlements in Canada, and thus providing for their future support. Having thus explained the grounds and objects of his Resolution, the Noble Marquis concluded by moving the former one respecting the King.

LORD GRENVILLE strongly opposed the Motion. He said, though the Noble Marquis had taken such pains to render the wording of his Resolution unobjectionable, he never in his life heard words that had conveyed so much horror to his mind, as those which the Noble Marquis had adopted. The manner in which the unfortunate Monarch in question was described, was precisely that which was used by those who were at present heaping upon that amiable Prince every species of indignity. The only appellation they gave him was that of "Louis XVI." an appellation purposely meant to point out the man as distinct from

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the King, as distinct from the kingly office and dignity, which they themselves had sworn to maintain to him and to his posterity, This was not the way in which England was accustomed to treat the Sovereigns of Europe; and he trusted their Lordships would have too much regard for their own honour and for that of their country, to adopt the language of men whose actions were calculated to inspire horror and detestation. The objection which he had to the wording went also to the form, without which a negociation could not be carried on. He would suppose for a moment, but merely for argument fake, for he confidered the thing as really untrue that it was possible to find an Englishman fo loft to a fense of honour, virtue and humanity, as to undertake to negociate with persons of this description; he would not ask to whom he should address himself, with whom he should negociate, where should he find the persons on whom the fate of Louis XVI. actually depends? He believed that any man who had attentively considered the fluctuation of affairs in France for some time past, would find it a very difficult matter to answer these questions. He had another substantial objection to the resolution, and that was, that, however guarded the Noble Marquis had been in framing it, he had contrived by putting in the words, "confistent with the respect due to an independent nation," to make it amount, at least by implication, to a recognition of the government at present sublisting in that country. He for one, would never consent that England should be the first nation in Europe to recognife a government to created, to established, and so constituted. The Noble Marquis had faid, that his object in making this motion was to try, if possible, to avert the dreadful fate hanging over an unfortunate Prince; and that he hoped it might be accomplished, when it should be known in France, that the English nation unanimously wished that so foul a stain as the execution of that virtuous monarch should not difgrace human nature. It was possible that the opinion of England on this point should have such weight on the present rulers in France, as to make them, through respect for it, spare the life of a Prince, which they cannot deftroy but in contempt of justice and humanity; that opinion was already known in Paris; it was well known there, that it was the opinion of every man, in every flation in Great Britain; and confequently there was not the least necessity for sending an Ambassador to that city for the purpole of making known there that opinion, of which no man in france was ignorant. The noble Marquis had thought proper to go into much extraneous matter, and had communicated to the House an article of intelligence, and of no small importance in the prefent state of public affairs; namely, that by a letter P 2

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from Holland he had been informed that the Dutch did not confider the exclusive navigation of the Scheldt as a matter of sufficient consequence to warrant them in hazarding a war to maintain it; and that they had therefore resolved not to oppose the navigation of that river. It was not for him to fay what founda-tion the correspondent of the Noble Marquis had for sending him fuch information; all he could lay, that he, one of his Majesty's Ministers, had received no such intelligence, and was a stranger to any fuch determination on the part of the Dutch. As little was it for him to look back a hundred years to confider whether it was found policy to allow Holland the exclusive navigation of the Scheldt, or whether it was useful to her; all he had to confider was, that by a specific treaty she had reserved it to herfelf; that by a specific treaty we were pledged to guarantee it to her; and that should she call upon us for a specific performance of our engagements, we were bound by honour, good faith, and a regard to the general benefit of Europe, to stand forward and fulfil with fidelity the facred obligation which we had contracted to prevent the opening of the Scheldt against the will of Hol-The Noble Marquis had thought proper also to make many observations respecting Prussia and Austria. What steps these two Powers would deem it prudent to pursue, was not for any one but themselves to say; no doubt but they would be governed in the adoption of measures by a due regard to their own honour and fafety, and the general fecurity of Europe. - With respect to the French Resugees who were the subjects of the second resolution, he had to observe that it was the peculiar distinction of England, that when they were driven from almost every other country in Europe, they found an afylum here, and experienced the generofity and hospitality which were the pride and characteristics of Englishmen. He would never consent to forego that proud distinction, by sending an Ambassador to France to ask leave for England to be charitable and humane.-He would not ask her leave for England to bestow upon these unfortunate men, whatever in their liberality Englishmen should be disposed to give them; it would be a degrading step to England to fend a Minister for such purposes. The dignity of the country would be fullied if either of the measures pointed out by the resolutions of the Noble Marquis were adopted, and therefore he was determined to give his negative to both!

The DUKE of NORFOLK admitted that there was ground for some of the objections urged by the Noble Secretary of State to the wording of the resolution then under their Lordships' consideration. He was of opinion, however, that if the substance should be deemed unobjectionable, the wording might be

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so altered, as to insure a general concurrence in favour of the measure proposed by the Noble Marquis. He felt that it was not decent that the unfortunate Prince in question should be filed fimply Louis XVI. but this difficulty might be eafily removed, either by the infertion of the words "The Most Christian King" before the name, or by entering on the journals a declaration, that it was through compassion for the state of the Most Christian King that the resolution, as proposed by the Noble Marquis, had been carried. The Noble Secretary of State had asked to whom an ambassador should address himself in France, and where he should find the persons on whom the fate of Louis XVI. actually depended. The answer was pretty obvious; every one knew there was in Paris a Minister for Foreign Affairs, to whom our Ambassador would of course address himself, and who would communicate his dispatches and conferences to the executive council, or, if necessary, to the convention. His Grace was of opinion, that a direct communication with the people in power in France might be productive of the most happy consequences: our Ambassador might be able to press upon them, how injurious had been to England the precedent on which France feemed at prefent to be acting; what calamities it had brought upon her; and how foon the had been obliged to restore monarchy in order to put an end to anarchy at home. Reasoning by analogy, he might shew that France would not only do a humane and a just act in sparing the unfortunate King's life, but that it would be her interest to do it. mode of proceeding could not hurt the pride or independence of France on one hand, or fink the dignity of England on the other; for as our Ambassador would have nothing to ask for his own country, it would appear that his mission could have no other object than that of humanity—and there was reason to hope that so difinterested, and at the same time so honourable an embaffy, would be likely to be productive of that happy iffue which every Noble Lord, and every man in the nation, most earnestly wished for.

The MARQUIS of LANSDOWNE declared he had not the smallest objection to the alteration suggested by the Noble Duke; his object was, if possible, to fave the life of an unfortunate and amiable Monarch from the most imminent danger; and therefore he would not stick at trifles or forms, if he could attain it by giving them up. With respect to the implied recognition of independence, he did not think that a folid objection; for it was a matter of notoriety that there was a ruling power in France,

and its agents were well known.

The DUKE of NORFOLK, perceiving by the disposition of the House that the motion was likely to be rejected, role

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to request that the Noble Marquis would rather confent to withdraw it, than run the risk of having it negatived. The consequence of its being negatived might be fatal to the unfortunate Monarch whom they all wished to fave; for if, on the one hand, it might be of service to him that it should be known in France that all England wished unanimously for the preservation of his life, what might be the confequence, if it should be known that a motion for interfering to preserve that life had been actually re-

jected by the House of Lords?

The MARQUIS of LANSDOWNE faid, that what the Noble Duke had just urged had great weight with him, he was therefore determined to comply with the Duke's defire, and to withdraw his motion; however, he by no means abandoned the object of it: on the contrary, it was in the full confidence that his Majesty's Ministers would some how or other make known to France the wishes of the House on this head, that he confented to withdraw the motion. The motion was accordingly withdrawn. [Here we must observe, that in the course of the debate it appeared evidently from the looks, countenance, and expression of approbation of every Noble Lord present, that as the execution of the King of France would firike them with horror, fo the preservation of his life would be to them a most grateful event. The Prince of Wales, and Dukes of York, Clarence, and Gloucester, were present, and shared those sentiments in common with the House.]

The MARQUIS of LANSDOWNE role again, and moved his fecond refolution, respecting an application to France

in favour of the French Refugees.

The DUKE of NORFOLK faid, that he did not feel the fame delicacy with respect to this motion, which had made him request the Noble Marquis to withdraw the former; and therefore he was determined to give it his decided negative. His reason for so doing was, that he did not think we had any right to interfere in this business, which was a matter relating folely to the internal government of France. Every government had a right to take precautions for its own existence; and if the subsifting government of that country was of opinion that it could not exist unless these refugees were sent into exile, it would not become England to with to reinstate them in their country and possessions; for to attempt such a measure would be a manifest violation of the rights of nations.

LORD LOUGHBOROUGH also opposed the motion, but not on the fame grounds. He faid, that it undoubtedly would be a mockery to apply to the National Convention in favour of a fet of men, whose case was not pending before that assembly, but which was already judged. It was well known that a de-

cree had passed against Emigrants, the most sweeping, the most comprehensive that could be devised. When it was proposed that an explanatory law should be enacted to restrain the application of the word Emigrants to a specific meaning, the Convention resolved to extend it, so as to make it reach all who were absent from the kingdom on account of their affairs, their health, their education, or their pleafure. The persons whom this sweeping decree affected, and who had fought an asylum in this country, were chiefly men of conscience and of honour; they might have been influenced by mistaken notions of either, but still acting under the influence of both, they might truly be called men of confcience and men of honour; and their greateft crime, in the eyes of the new government of France, most probably was, that they had fortunes, which might enrich the new power by being conficated. Those fortunes were now gone, and applied to other purposes; it would, therefore, be useless to make an application in their behalf, to the very men who had stripped them of their property. England had hitherto supported them without such an application; and he trusted the would take upon herfelf to make a future provision for them, rather than submit to the indignity of asking what most certainly would be refused. But he would suppose for a moment, that the new rulers of France were disposed to act with justice; in what form could we make the application?—There was not one in which we must not either disgrace ourselves or irritate If we recognised their government, we should do the former—if we refused to recognise it, we should do the latter, and consequently defeat the very end and object of the application. The unfortunate persons, in whose behalf the motion appeared to have been made, were natives of France; how then would the Government of that country confider our interference to preferve an aid for fettling them in Canada, an English colony, whose strength might one time or other be turned against

The MARQUIS of LANSDOWNE declared, that whatever might be the fate of this Motion, he was determined not to withdraw it. There was a point on which the learned Lord had not touched, and on which the National Convention had not as yet come to any decision; that was the falary or annuity allowed to the Clergy before they had emigrated: a minister, therefore, might hope to succeed in negociating for the continuance and punctual payment of such amounty.

The question was put upon the second Resolution, which was

rejected without a division.

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[Here we must observe, that when Lord Lansdowne moved his first Resolution, the Order of the Day, which had actually been

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been read, for the second reading of Lord Grenville's Bill respecting Foreigners, was, on the Motion of Lord Hawksbury, postponed, that the House might regularly debate the propositions of the Noble Marquis. The business having been disposed of, the Order of the Day was again brought forward, and the

Bill was accordingly read a fecond time.]

LORD GRENVILLE then role to move that it should be committed to-morrow. His Lordship observed, that as the meafures which the Bill proposed to enact were rather of a novel nature, the House would probably require some reasons from him to justify it. The law, he said, had always made a marked distinction between natural born subjects and aliens; of the former the King was considered as the father; of the latter only The former owed a constant, the latter only a the protector. local and transitory allegiance to the Crown, and on this account the fituation of both was, in the eye of the law, extremely different. It appeared to be part of the prerogative of the Crown to forbid foreigners to enter or relide within the realm. This might be collected from Magna Charta, in which it was stated, that foreign merchants should be allowed by the King to come into, and refide in England. This stipulation, of so remote antiquity, in favour of trade, was the more honourable to our ancestors, as they had caused it to be inserted in the fame charter which recognised and secured their own liberty. It was not to be doubted, that the Crown possessed all the power with which this bill was to invest it; but it had been so feldom exercised, that doubts might exist about the means of exercifing it at prefent; and it was not fit that in cases in which the fafety of the country might be at stake, any doubts should be suffered to exist by which that safety might in the smallest degree be endangered. His Lordship repeated the observation which he had made in a former speech, that after almost all the other countries of Europe had, for various reasons, refused to afford the French Refugees an afylum, they had found one in England. He had on this subject three questions to ask-Would their Lordships remove from that asylum those who had already found it? Would they shut their doors against other unfortunate men, who might still come to feek refuge among them? Would they fuffer them, when here, to be precifely on the fame footing with natural born subjects of the King, with respect to privileges and rights? To the two first questions he was sure their Lordships were prepared to give answers, and to say that the unfortunate foreigners already here, and those who might come after them, should not be disappointed in their hope of finding an afylum among them. With respect to the third question, they would certainly pause. The safety of the state

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was not to be facrificed to hospitality; and whatever was necesfary to that fafety, was not to be blamed. Amongst the foreigners at prefent in England there were no doubt some of the most respectable and venerable characters, such as every well-regulated fociety would be happy to receive in its bosom; but there were others of a very different description; some there had been, and some might still be here, who had fignalized themselves in the commission of those atrocious murders, which could not be so much as mentioned without creating horror in every mind. These men were the more dangerous, as they felt all the influence of that fanaticism and of those principles, which made them think that they were earning for themselves the honour of being entitled to a place among the most renowned heroes of the world, by doing acts which placed them on a level with those monsters who had difgraced human nature. By whom paid, by whom they had been fent into England, and for what purpose, it was not difficult to conjecture. He did not mean to include indifcriminately the whole French nation in the class of murderers; God forbid, he faid, that he should entertain fo shocking an opinion of fo confiderable a portion of mankind as twenty-four millions of people; but this he might fay, that when anarchy was substituted in the room of government in France, some men of the most abominable principles had in different parts of that country worked themselves into situations of power, which they had abused to the eternal disgrace of humanity. People of that kind had been fent to England in the hope that they might he able to raise an insurrection, and overthrow the government. To guard against the wicked machinations of such men was the object of this Bill. [We forbear following his Lordship through the particular provisions of it, as a statement of them is given in page 109.] He faid that all the well-disposed among the refugees had no objection to be difarmed, because they knew the motives of the Legislature in requiring such a measure, and they were willing to trust for protection to the laws of England, where they had been so well protected, and so hospitably entertained. What the evil-disposed might think of the measure was of no consequence. With respect to merchants, all those who should be able to prove that they were bona fide such, should be exempt from the operation of the Bill. After this explanation, his Lordship moved that it should be committed to-morrow.

The DUKE of NORFOLK faid he did not mean to object to the principle of the Bill; but he lamented that for want of a proper intercourse between the governments of England and France, by means of Ambassaders, the people of both had very mistaken notions of each others opinions and characters. In England it was absurdly thought that the French were a nation

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of murderers, though he believed there was no country where the shocking murders were viewed in a more horrid light by the bulk of the people, and by the government. In France it was no less absurdly believed that the people of England were all disaffected to their Constitution, and waited only for the appearance of some French auxiliaries to rise as one man, and pull it down. They perhaps would be roused from their fond delusion by the voice of loyalty echoing through every part of the kingdom, and breathing the most fervent attachment to the King and

Confliction.

The MARQUIS of LANSDOWNE confidered the Bill as a fuspension of the Habeas Carpus Act, which, though it extended at first only to foreigners, would, he feared, be afterwards extended to all Englishmen. Such a measure as this was without a precedent, and evidence ought to have been laid upon the table to prove the existence of such a danger as would justify the remedy. That evidence ought to have been referred to a Committee, where such a Bill as would suit the emergency might have originated. At present the House had nothing to go upon but the affertion of the Noble Secretary of State; and in a case where the liberty of great numbers of persons would be placed at the mercy, and consequently at the devotion of the Crown, it did not become him or the House to give their confidence to mi-

nisters merely on the credit of their own affertions.

The DUKE of PORTLAND faid, that after what the noble Lord had faid, it was unnecessary for him to enlarge upon the subject of the Bill. He approved of it, because he thought some measure of this fort necessary to quiet the alarm that had been excited in the minds of the people. It was not on account of any personal attachment to the present administration that he supported it. He could not forget the manner in which they came into power; he could not forget the many circumstances in their conduct by which, in his opinion, they had forseited all title to the considence of the nation. He could not forget that to their misconduct many of our present difficulties were owing. It was not in order to court popularity, but because he thought the Bill would restore security and quiet to the minds of the people; and therefore it should have his hearty concurrence.

The EARL of LAUDERDALE lamented that the people of England and France were so little acquainted with each other as they appeared to be of late. It was reported that our ministers had no other intelligence from Paris than that which they collected from the Moniteur; whilst all other English papers, except the Morning Chronicle, were industriously kept out of France. The respective editors of those two papers were, he believed.

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believed, actuated by very honourable motives, and spoke their sentiments freely. But was it from the Moniteur and the Morning Chronicle that each nation should learn the opinions and sentiments of the other? He believed not. As to the horrid murders that had been committed in Paris, he believed they were as cordially detested in France as they were in England; and so far would the ruling powers in the former country be offended with us for disarming any of the perpetrators of those shocking acts, whom we might find in London, that he sincerely believed they would be heartily obliged to us, if we should exterminate the monsters from the face of the earth. As to the Bill, he considered many of the clauses as ineffectual even to their own purposes; but he would referve what he had to say on that subject till it was in the Committee.

LORD HAWKESBURY admitted, in reply to the Marquis of Landowne, that the Bill was without a precedent; but then it must be admitted to him, that the case was equally novel and unprecedented in the annals of this or any other country. As to the objection made by the noble Marquis, that evidence of the danger ought to be laid upon the table, he would not allow it to be well-founded, for the production of evidence might deseat in a great measure the good expected from

the Bill.

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The DUKE of LEEDS faid, that as he probably should not be present at any stage of the progress of the bill through the House, he would take that opportunity to declare that it had his most hearty concurrence. His Grace said, he lamented as much as any man the melancholy fituation of the Royal Family of France, and he pitied the distresses of the Refugees, many of whom he highly respected and had known abroad; but still he would always be so much of an Englishman as to beheve it unlikely that a Frenchman should be a friend to an Englishman: he would make them experience all the warmth of British hospitality; but still he would look upon them with an eye of jealoufy, and fee that they attempted nothing against the lafety of this country. He expressed his surprise how to many of them had contrived to come into England with arms; he had read with aftonishment of a considerable body of French dragoons, who, it was faid, were on their way to join the army of the Princes, and yet they had unaccountably landed in England with their arms. He had heard from a Noble Marquis (of Townshend) that some had landed also on the coast of Norfolk, who were, however, disarmed. If such people entertained any defigns against the country, he trusted that the loyalty which pervaded every part of the kingdom, together with the

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affiftance of this Bill, would completely defeat their hopes of examinations freely.

LORD VISCOUNT STORMONT faid he concurred in every fentiment expressed by the Noble Duke who had just fat down, the force of which he would not weaken by delivering them in other words.

The Question was here called for, and carried without a

division.

DECEMBER 22.

LORD GRENVILLE moved the Order of the Day, that the House resolve itself into a Committee on the Bill for establishing Regulations respecting Aliens arriving in this kingdom,

or resident therein, in certain cases.

EARL SPENCER faid, that in former debates points had been touched upon which he could have wished had been passed over in filence. They involved circumstances, the discussion of which he deprecated. This country was, at this moment, in a dangerous, critical, and, he believed, unprecedented fituation; if so, it became necessary for the safety of the state, that the executive power should have an unprecedented share of power and authority, for the protection of the public interest. He therefore was fo far from opposing, that he should support the principle of this Bill. He observed, that his Majesty's Ministers were persons from whom he had for years been in the habit of with-holding his confidence; he had generally acted with and confided in others who, in his opinion, better deserved it-men of the highest rank, of the brightest abilities and virtue. But, under the present alarming situation of the country, he thought he ought not to with-hold his confidence, whatever might be his opinion of Ministers, when measures were proposed which that fituation evidently called for. In giving Ministers his confidence, on this particular measure, he had not formed any new attachments, nor abandoned his old ones. This was no party question; nor should any party distinctions be observed in discussing it. In his opinion, the members of that House should be unanimous in support of the executive power, although they all must lament the necessity which demanded that support. He could not conclude without faying, he hoped that the different officers of government, whose power was to be so much increased by the present Bill, would use that power with great care and caution, and not so as to shock the generous temper and benevolent dilposition of the people of this country.

LORD GRENVILLE thanked the Noble Earl for the very manly manner in which he had made known his fentiments; affured his Lordship, that his Majesty's Ministers, from

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the moment the plan of the Bill was projected, had determined that all possible moderation should be observed in the execution of it. If any thing could add to that disposition, it was the hope of receiving the approbation of a man of such rank, integrity, and character, as the Noble Earl.

The House resolved itself into a Committee, LORD CATH-

CART in the Chair.

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The MARQUIS of LANSDOWNE faid he detested the principle of the Bill, because it proceeded on the assumption of plots, of which plots he could obtain no information, nor did he believe their existence. All he could now do was, to state his objections to many of the clauses, in hopes that Ministers might foften what he thought wanted much foftening. After all the Noble Secretary of State had promifed, he was not fure he could fulfil any part of it; he could not be answerable for the roughness with which each petty officer would execute the orders of his superiors. The part of the Bill which related to passports he wished to be attended to. All their Lordships who had travelled knew, that England was the only country in Europe where a man was compelled to pay for a passport; he wished them to be granted here, as every where elfe, gratis. He observed, that the idea of plots had carried petty officers to a very troublesome extreme, in the execution of what they called their duty. A nobleman (Marquis de Bouille) had received from a company of merchants an elegant fword, as a teltimony of their efteem. This fword was taken from him at Dover, by the custom-house other. Many fuch cases would arise, if care was not taken to provide against them, and many other things in the Bill. Lordship enumerated many hardships that would fall upon many innocent individuals, if the Bill passed as it now stood.

The House then proceeded on the clauses, and amendments were proposed by Lord Thurlow, Hawkesbury, Loughborough,

and Grenville, many of which were adopted.

In the discussion of the clause respecting fire arms,

The EARL of LAUDERDALE faid, he could inform their Lordships, from personal experience, that at the most turbulent time in France, the greatest respect was paid to foreigners. He himself had two pair of pistols in his bedchamber in Paris; the proper officer came and examined them, and asked what they were for: he answered, for the protection of his person; and the officer was satisfied. This was about the 10th of August, at the time they were the most rigid, and had the greatest reason to be so. His Lordship observed, he saw no reason why foreigners, travelling among us, might not carry pistols, as they always did every where else.

LORD CARLISLE observed, that at this time there was no fear of an inundation of Englishmen going to France.

Their Lordships proceeded through all the clauses, and, after making many amendments, ordered the whole to be engroffed. and the tot be the North Latter Adjourned to the 24th. the House and and the large

DECEMBER 24.

No Debate. Lat. M. C. C. MAL To Call MA Made

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Being Christmas day, the House did not sit. finds among of smadbards

DECEMBER 26.

LORD HAWKESBURY observed, that their Lordships had last session of Parliament voted an address to his Majesty to give orders for rendering the House more commodious, and it did not appear that any thing had yet been done. For himself, and for several other Noble Lords, he could say, that both in the last and the present session, much personal inconvenience, much danger of health had been incurred, by attendance on public bufiness in a place so ill calculated for their accommodaition. He then moved, that a Committee be appointed to confider of means to render the House more commodious for the Lords.—Ordered.

That fuch Lords as have attended during the present Session

be of that Committee.—Ordered.

That the Committee meet to-morrow at twelve, and adjourn

during pleasure.—Ordered.

LORD GRENVILLE being prevented by indisposition from attending, Lord Hawkesbury moved the Order of the Day, that the Bill for establishing certain regulations respecting aliens

be read a third time.

The EARL of GUILDFORD faid, their Lordships might ask why he opposed the third reading of a bill, to the principle of which he had not objected when it was read a second time.-He had expected that in the progress of the bill through the House, proofs of the necessity that called for it would be adduced. Long and habitual deference to the opinion of the Noble Duke (Portland) who, when the grounds of the bill were opened by a Noble Lord now absent, declared that he thought some such measure necessary, had induced him to acquiesce in that opinion, hoping that the bill would be so modified as to remove the most material part of his objections. In that hope he had been difappointed, and he was fure the Noble Duke, far from difapproving of his now declaring his fentiments, would entertain a less fayourable opinion of him, if, from deference to any authority, he were paff thei lege wha man man

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were to suppress them. He did not wish, after what had already passed, that the bill should be rejected. He desired only that their Lordships would take time to enquire into the causes alleged for so strong a measure, and endeavour to remove from it whatever should be found more rigorous than the occasion demanded. It was the boast of our Constitution, that, to every man living under it, it extended the equal protection of the law: for violating this justly boasted principle, they had as yet nothing of proof, nothing of direct and positive affertion on the part of Ministers, nothing but vague, alarming, ambiguous infinuations. It might have been expected, that of the infurrections alleged at the opening of the fession for assembling Parliament in an extraordinary manner, some at least would have been proved to exist. Their Lordships had been able to discover none; and of none had they yet been furnished with any thing that deserved the name of information. Was it for their Lordships' dignity, was it for their justice, to proceed on such unexplained, unsupported infinuations of danger, to deprive men who had thrown themfelves on the hospitality of the country, of the ordinary protection of the law? He had the utmost respect for the veracity of the Noble Lord who opened the grounds of the bill; but it would be a dangerous precedent indeed for their Lordships to take the individual veracity of any one of his Majesty's Ministers as a sufficient foundation for a public measure. What were their Lordships going to do? on the mere pretence that there were foreign emissaries in this country, for the purpose of disseminating Jacobin principles—principles which he for one should never admit to have any connection with republican principles; for robbery and murder, and every doctrine that led to them, republicans disclaimed; they were going to deliver men who had lought refuge from perfecution and oppression to the sole discretion of the Executive Power. But the humanity of Ministers, it was faid, would be their protection. He would never confent to deliver one man to the humanity of another; one of the extraordinary penalties of the bill was banishment. Would their Lordships banish men who had been forced from their own country, and whom they were told no other country would re-ceive? Where were these exiles to look for refuge? In Brabant they could not be fafe; were we fure that Holland would be more liberal than most of the other powers of Europe? The cruel imprisonment of La Fayette would warn them against approaching any country occupied by a German army. But, it might be faid, let them comply with the regulations of the bill, and then they would escape the penalty of banishment. Was the case so? Did not Ministers by the bill reserve to themselves the power of fending any alien out of the kingdom, whom they

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might think fit to suspect? Such persons they were to send away in a manner fuitable to their rank. Who were to be the judges of this, as well as of the suspicion in which they were so removed? Ministers or their agents. Their Lordships had no security but in their moderation, and ought to take care that the country was not diffraced by the inhospitable transportation of persons who had thrown themselves on our hospitality. Minifters, it would be faid, were responsible for their conduct-Refponfible indeed, in their characters and reputation; but under the present bill, other responsibility he maintained they had none. After passing a bill which suspended the ordinary laws of the land, on an alleged alarm of danger, could their Lordships punish a Minister, because his suspicions were more alive, and his alarm greater than their own? Yet this in almost any possible abuse would be his only crime. He therefore exhorted their Lordships to take time for enquiry, and to beware of imitating the rath conduct which they fo much condemned in the French. If on due enquiry they found fome fuch bill necessary, let them next endeavour to to frame it as to point only at the perfons who were the real objects of it, and to exempt from its operation those whom it was not meant to affect; who, instead of being objects of fuspicion, were entitled to compassion and protection. He concluded with moving that the bill be read a third time that day fortnight.

LORD HAWKESBURY said, that to disclose the information which the Noble Lord seemed to require might defeat the object of the bill. It was a measure called for by public necessity, and justified by the right of self-defence, which every nation was allowed to posses. Their Lordships in passing the bill were only enabling the country to continue hospitality to persons, whom other countries had thought it necessary for their own safety to exclude or remove. He contended, that without such precautions as the bill contained, there would be danger from the principles which those persons might propagate, and referred for the proof to the decrees of fraternity with the people of other countries, passed by the French Convention.

The EARL of LAUDERDALE faid it was extremely unpleasant to be obliged to allude to a former speech of any Noble Lord in his absence. He regretted the absence of the Noble Secretary of State (Grenville) and the necessity that obliged him to refer to his speech on opening the grounds of the bill. He, with the Noble Duke (Portland) was willing by any reasonable measure to quiet the alarms in the minds of the people; alarms which in his conscience he believed industriously excited and kept up by Ministers. But when he saw such a bill as this, a bill that altered the established laws, that even interfered with treaties, and

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all this to provide against the suspected intentions of about nineteen persons, the whole number alleged by the Noble Secretary of State on opening the grounds of the bill, he could not help thinking that it was part of a chain of measures, purposely calculated to excite alarm among the people, and by roufing their passions to extinguish their reason. Would any man, who had viewed the conduct of Ministers for some months past, say that they had not good occasion for doing this—that they had not cause for wishing to surprise and oppress the reasoning faculties of the people, or to divert public attention to any object, rather than suffer it to rest on themselves? In the course of a few months they had loft many opportunities of preferving the peace of Europe, and preventing that extraordinary state of things, of which no man could now venture to foretell the iffue, while, from neglect or incapacity, they had been pursuing their private pleasures and amusements, leaving public affairs to the course of events. It was but lately that they put the country to the expence of an armament, and the risk of a war, to prevent, as they then faid, the aggrandifement of Rushia by the possession of Oc zakow. In the debates upon that occasion, it was asked of those who opposed the armament-Would you suffer Russia to get behind Poland? Do you see no danger to the balance of Europe from such an extension of territory in such a quarter? Had Ruffia fince obtained no aggrandisement, no additional preponderance in that quarter? and had Ministers done any thing to prevent it? could they clear themselves from the suspicion of being parties to it? One of two things then followed—either that their armament about Oczakow was an unnecessary and ridiculous expence; or that they were too impotent or too idle to act during the whole of the last fummer. What had they done in Ireland, where things certainly were not in such a state as might be wished—where the people were complaining of an oppressive pension lift, they had meditated an addition to the grievancethat now was happily over-but where there was well-founded cause of alarm, they durst not say there was: here, where there was none, they endeavoured to raise it, to blind the judgment of the people, and prevent them from examining the conduct of those to whom the administration of their affairs was intrusted. The people too might recollect that the present Ministers had increased the emoluments of their own situations beyond those enjoyed by any former Cabinet, and compare the reward with the lervices performed—For all these reasons it was natural for Ministers to wish to divert public attention from themselves. Surely they must have some secret motive, for on no public motive was their conduct to be accounted for; and there was none more probable than that which he had suggested. This was farther R

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Confirmed by comparing what they did with what had been done without doors—with the affociations formed on pretence of aiding the Executive Government. With all possible respect for the individuals who composed the first of these associations, he could not help thinking that he read a libel on the government when he read their advertisement, importing that the government was in fuch a fituation as to want aid, and to derive what it wanted from a fociety of eighteen men. What was the principle of thefe affociations? Was it not to do what had been reprobated fo juftly in France, putting the country under the government of clubs? When he faw ministers, without any reason that would bear to be examined, or even explained, preffing a measure, as effential to the fafety of the country, which admitted of no defence on justice, but only on expediency, he could not help fearing that they meant to occupy the attention of Parliament on another object, while they were going to force the country into a war. No man could talk of negociating to avert to great a calamity without being accused of proposing an alliance, although no two things could be more diffinct. That war might be averted To negociate, it was faid, would be to ache had no doubt. knowledge the power with whom we negociated. If we admitted an explanation, which it would hardly be contended we ought not to admit, we as much acknowledged the power of those who offered it, as by sending an Ambassador to negoci-When men's paffions had time to cool and gave free scope to their understandings, when they consider the advantages we had derived and might still derive from a wife neutrality, he was confident that every man in this country would condemn entering into a war without first taking every practicable and honourable means to avoid it. The French had committed no invation on our allies; and he fincerely believed they had not a plan which they might not be fuffered to purfue even with advantage to us, if we persevered in our neutrality. He agreed with the Earl of Guildford in his objections to the bill, and on the propriety of deferring the third reading.

The EARL of CARLISLE rose to defend the bill, which had, in every respect, his perfect concurrence. He did not mean to follow the Noble Earl who spoke last, because he thought if he went into any discussion, either of the Russian armament or the fituation of Ireland, that he would be going very wide from the question. He faid, though not accustomed to agree with the present Administration, yet he had supported, and would support their measures in this instance. He thought the arguments and the terms used by the Noble Earl against this measure did not at all apply, and by supporting it he would not incur any charge of inconfiftency, because he was firmly persuaded it was

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necessary. He had no scruple in faying that he had often thought a change of Administration was the only thing that could be of effential fervice to the country. But his opinion was not altered; vet at this juncture he was afraid that a change in Administration might bring about a change of measures, and that he thought would be of very dangerous consequence. If there was to be a change of ministers, it might naturally be supposed that the first act of another ministry would be to negociate with France; and this, of all things, was what he never wished to hear of, because it would only strengthen our enemies, and could be of no use to ourselves. For these reasons his Lordship was disposed to give all the aid he could to the Executive Power, confcious at the fame time, that having given to it upon this emergency an extraordinary degree of power, it was the duty of Parliament to watch the exercise of that power, and not to let it extend or continue beyond the time that it appeared absolutely necessary.

The MARQUIS of LANSDOWNE faid he was happy to follow in argument and in fentiments the Noble Earl who made the Motion, and the Noble Earl near him, who had so ably supported it, though he was, at the same time, convinced that the House, as had been properly observed by one of those Noble Lords, feemed already to have made up their minds upon the subject. That, however, would be no reason for him to withhold his opinion upon the present question, more than upon fuch questions as he expected greater success. It recalled to his memory the opinions delivered in and out of that House about the commencement of the American war. At that time, and for some years, there was but one man in the House of Commons, who would fairly and frankly affert that America ought to be independent; and yet, though the opinion of this great country feemed at that time fo much against that doctrine, we afterwards repented of the infolence with which we treated the Americans, and were absolutely happy to renounce our former errors, and acknowledge that which once was thought in this country as improper to be mentioned as impossible to be obtained. He had observed a cry of Order in the House, when the Noble Earl was speaking, as if the Noble Earl had spoken of matters foreign to the question then debating; but he would ask if any thing could be reckoned irregular or foreign to debate, when the extraordinary manner in which Parliament had met was the cause? On such an occasion must Noble Lords talk of no country but Britain; and that because a Secretary of State had chosen to bring in a Bill to provide against grievances which supposed to exist, but of which Noble Lords knew nothing? and were they to be confined to the discussion of supposed infur-R 2

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rections in this country, merely because they knew of none? He hoped they were not; and therefore faw no reason for such a call of Order. Ministers were fond of large words, and of carrying matters with a high hand; but in his mind, when they had created fuch fears and alarms all over the country, the Noble Earl was right in stating that the people had a right to be fatisfied, and to know whether there was any real danger to apprehend, or whether ministers excited alarms to draw the attention of the country from their own conduct, by awakening their passions, and lulling their judgment and reason to sleep. He was against this Bill, because he was persuaded there were no grounds whatever for it; and he was fure, had they any ground that they dare state, they would not venture upon a measure in direct violation of law, without producing that ground.—He could not believe that even if there were 18 or 20 persons in the country, of the description that had been alluded to, that their power or influence was fuch as to induce ministers to infringe upon the laws of the country, by bringing in this Bill merely on their account.—He had no doubt but, if the Bill passed, there might be twenty, thirty, or forty, foolish and idle Frenchmen taken up; but that would not convince him of the necessity of so extraordinary measures as had lately been followed.—He adverted to its having been faid, that government or ministers had no other mode of communication than by newspapers between the countries; and here he would beg leave to read to their Lordships an authentic letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the National Convention, inferted in the Gazette Nationale, 10th December, before any of the alarms or fears had taken place in this country. In this letter the minister had communicated to the Convention, that he had been charged with sending a person, named Achilles Viard, [See the end of this [peech.] to London, who had been connected with others in England, that were engaged in a conspiracy, and might be an uleful person to make use of in that country. He therefore explained to the Convention that he had given a paffport to this person, upon very good recommendations; but he afterwards had found out that he knew nothing, and did nothing that was worthy the notice of either that or this country. Now the Marquis begged Noble Lords to confider, that the conspiracy supposed to be forming was against France, and not against this country, and contended that there was a general tendency, in the conduct of the French, to do every thing more beneficial to England than to themselves.

He likewise observed that this explanation to the Convention was not in confequence of any requisition on the part of England, but merely to justify the minister's conduct to the Con-

vention;

vention; and as to the veracity of his statement, it was worthy of remark and ferious attention, that the ministers there, in whatever department they might be, must take good care to advance nothing but truth; for the individual minister who ventured to do otherwise was liable to the detection of the Diplomatic Committee, or any one of them, and the moment a mifflatement was detected, punishment would certainly follow.— He replied to the arguments used by Lord Hawksbury.—Whatever had been read of the transactions of France, he totally disbelieved that ministers had any real grounds for this measure, and knew the French would go fo far from their defire to fatisty, instead of offending this country, that they might, he had no doubt, have given up their intention to open the Scheldt. Belides, then, their having no grounds for this Bill, another very alarming fact had been stated in argument by the Noble Earl (Lauderdale); and that was, the dangerous precedent that they were about to establish, if upon no other ground, or authority, than the mere word or suspicion of a Secretary of State, they were to overturn and fet afide the law of the land. confidered this Bill in no other light than a partial suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act; and if ministers had any information of intrigues being formed in this country, between foreigners and persons of the country, they were extremely to blame for not suspending the Habeas Corpus Act entirely; that would have been the proper and necessary measure, but not a measure to be adopted upon the mere suspicion of a minister. With regard to the suspension of that Act, he would defire Noble Lords to look back to the rebellion in 1745, when, upon September 5, the King had fent to acquaint the Lord Mayor of London, that the Pretender's fon had landed, with a body of troops, in Scotland, and that the country was in a state of rebellion. Notwithstanding this, he begged they might observe how ministers acted at that time, which might be in the recollection of some of their Lordthips. Did they fummon Parliament upon a thirteen days notice, and alarm the country?—Certainly not.—They stuck by old established constitutional rules, and the Parliament did not meet till the 17th of October, and the next day the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended for only fix months: but the present Administration despited such conduct; and, after owning that if they could not have fallen upon the shift of embodying the militia, as a pretence for calling Parliament together, they would have done it of themselves, and trusted to an Act of Indemnityhad thus alarmed the whole country; and having got Parliament in some shape huddled together, they come forward to propose a luipention of the Habeas Corpus Act for more than a year; and he law no other motive for these measures, but by exciting alarm,

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alarm, and disturbing the tranquillity of the country, to divert the attention of the people from their own conduct. It had been faid, that England had acted differently from other countries with regard to France; but it was the glory of England, that in all material points the differed from other nations. Here he quoted the authority of Lord Chief Justice Fortescue, in the reign of Hen. VI, upon these two points particularly; 1st, That there was no ground for the Bill; and, 2dly, That it was establishing a very dangerous precedent. He argued the danger of putting so great a number as 8000 persons now in the kingdom under the power of the Crown, and had no doubt but after this Bill passed they would increase; and though no one could bring even a fword into the kingdom, they might all be armed by the Crown at any time,-After all, he faid, he must recur to what he had stated on the first day of the Session; that the only clue to unravel the conduct of ministers was war; for war they certainly meant, and were determined upon. This was the key to unlock all their mysterious reasoning, and the clue to all their windings in political measures. This resolution to bring on war, he considered as highly alarming to the interests of the country; and nobody could fay that any thing could possibly be gained. As to the balance of trade, that so much stress was laid on, he faid it was a balance of air, and a balance of paper; to-day he would fee that ministers had found out, and must be conscious, that our alliance with Holland, and the faith of a treaty to support another treaty made 150 years ago, would not answer as a pretext for war, and had adopted another language, and substituted the security of Europe, as wide and indefinite words as they could have thought of; in his opinion, it was always dangerous to allow fuch terms to go abroad, being so liable to different interpretations. He detelted such publications as Paine's Rights of Man, though there were no terms in that publication more vague and liable to misconception than the seeurity of Europe. Were we to alk Russia what it means, she would probably tell us, that it was the subjection of Poland.— If we were to ask Prussia and Austria, they would tell us, God knows what, perhaps a barrier treaty, or the annihilation of the French Republic. If they had applied to us properly, and that ministers knew our aid was necessary to the security of Europe, they were much to blame for not aiding those allies fooner; and if they had not applied, would any minister fay, that their foolish plans, unworthy motives, or wicked defigns, ought to bring upon this country the calamities of war? He repeated his opinions in favour of the existing Constitution, and his wish to Support and preserve it. As to Proclamations and Affociations, he faid, he thought more danger was to be apprehended from affociations

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affociations formed under the countenance of a government, than from affociations against it; because, when people affociated against government, there was the law of the land to check them; but those affociations that had lately appeared had become a fignal of anarchy, and left all law afide in order to introduce a mob government. It certainly was but a poor compliment to ministers to suppose that they, with the whole aid of the executive government and the law, could not refift the danger apprehended from 20 dangerous foreigners, without calling to their aid fuch meetings. He had figned none of them, yet it could not be thought that he, after 50 years of age, and polleffed of some property at stake in the country, could wish to see it parcelled out in districts of 9 acres; and he would add, that all his life-time he had done as much, whether in or out of office, for the executive, as for the legislative government of the country, because he thought both ought to be strong. He concluded by faying, that he had no expectation that the motion would pass, and had much more to urge against the Bill; yet, from the appearance of the House, he would not be surprised when the time came, that his arguments might appear more forcible; it would be asked, why he did not urge them at the time, but this he had been accustomed to before, and was satisfied with having faithfully done his duty as a Lord of Parliament, and a friend to the country.

The following is a copy of the Letter to which the Marquis of Lanfdowne alluded:

Extract of a Letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs in France to the National Convention.

Paris, Dec. 7, 1792.

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I understand that I am accused of having sent the citizen Achilles Viard to London, to foment troubles there — The fact is as follows: On the 30th of September Achilles Viard came to me to ask for a passport to go to London with. He brought me a letter from Claud Fauchet, announcing to me that that citizen might be of great use there in preventing the effect of a conspiracy (against France) which he had discovered. I thought I could not refuse a passport to a person who came to me with such What he did in London I do not know! a recommendation. but what I do know is, that he neither fulfilled Fauchet's expectation of him nor mine.

He possesses no faculties that I know of, natural or moral, capable of giving any cause of uneasiness to England (A laugh). The whole of my correspondence concurs in proving that the conduct I have maintained towards the British nation has all

along been frank and honest (Applause). I have too high an idea of the relations that ought to subfift between the two nations, to have recourse to any fuch low manœuvres.

In consequence of the preceding Speech of the Marquis of Lanfdowne, the following Letter was published in the Public Prints.

London, Dec. 28.

I had determined to be filent with regard to the allegations made by Achilles Viard, at the Bar of the National Convention. All I did was to write to France on that subject; but the Marquis of Lansdowne having spoken of Viard in the House of Peers, and feemed to give some credit to what he had alleged, I find myself under the necessity of declaring openly, for the sake of truth, that every thing afferted by said Viard relative to me is notoriously false :- that I neither know him, nor have ever seen him;—that I never had a steward, or any body else, named Marcellin, connected with me. In a word, that all he faid Arrived in England but the 4th of Novemabout me is false. ber last; I have ever fince lived in the country, and have seen very few persons. An enemy to every kind of intrigue, and estranged by circumstances from public affairs, I wish but to live here in quiet, and enjoy in peace the asylum which I came to feek from a people free, hospitable, and obedient to the laws.

RICHELIEU D'AIGUILLON.

LORD LOUGHBOROUGH followed the Marquis of Landowne in a speech of some length. His lordship, after stating the regret he felt for being compelled to differ from the Noble Marquis who spoke last, and from the Noble Lord whose motion was the immediate subject of debate, and after paying a tribute of applause to the memory of that Noble Lord's ancestor, and after observing upon the friendship that he still entertained for those from whom he differed proceeded to observe upon the measure now before the House for its consideration. He observed, that as far as affection could carry any man in private life, he was willing to be influenced by it; but in fuch a case as the present there could be but one consideration that should govern the conduct of any man in this country. Situated as we now were, it became every member of that House to elevate himself beyond the influence of prejudice and reserve, and to speak his mind freely. He would say that he felt himself called upon, by the allegiance he owed to the Crown for the protection he received from it, to give the Crown his support upon this occation. An objection had been started to the present bill, on account of its being a new measure. This was certainly not the

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case; for we should find acts of Parliament, as far back as Henry VI. tending to the fame point now before their Lord-Befides, it was well known, that no alien could, by the general spirit of the law of England, have protection in this country without the confent of the executive government; and when he looked into the provisions of the bill, he faw a good deal that induced him to praise Ministers for their moderation in its different clauses; still more were they to be commended for doing by act of Parliament what indisputably they might do by the exercise of the Royal Prerogative. As to the nature of the bill now before their Lordships, there was, he must repeat, nothing in it that was new, nor any thing in it extraordinary, confidering the circumstances of the country. Lordships recollected, that in the reign of Elisabeth, when, under the direction of Philip II. a great fanaticism of religion, among other causes, agitated Europe, and threatened this country with danger, very strong measures were taken by the minifters of that day, and no one had thought fince of blaming them for what they did, much stronger than the present bill; and yet he hardly could fay why we should be less vigilant at this time than our ancestors were at that time. They were threatened with the danger that would arise from the fanaticism of religion; we were threatened with the anarchy of irreligion. That was precifely the case; for now the mask was thrown offin France, there was no religion there at this time: and still further, they had in France lately adopted a measure that struck at the root of all order; for on the 15th of December instant, they had passed a decree in the National Convention, that was directly hoffile to all governments upon the old basis. And then as to the manner in which they had hitherto been discovered to intend to carry their dispositions into effect, it was true they amounted, under the description of "affassins with poniards, on which were written No King," only to the number of nineteen. Would it be faid that this order or institution of men was not dangerous? The truth was, he knew not their number, but he knew that there were at this time a very zealous and very active party doing all they can to ftir up fedition in this country; it was in vain to endeavour to conceal it, and therefore the steps now taken were perfectly right in principle. Perhaps, indeed, that ministers, knowing the country to be in danger, ought to have taken up this matter fooner: upon this point he could not blame them, for they had tried the effect of a proclamation, which for a time succeeded as it ought to have succeeded, and tranquillity feemed to be restored to this country, in proportion as the immense power that marched against the prevailing faction in France, appeared likely to fucceed; but affairs taking another

another turn, and the French appearing again to be likely to be victorious, fedition again broke out in this country with increafed force, and in France anarchy and confusion triumphed over all hope for order and regularity. Openly they despited religion —openly they avowed atheim, and the avowal was received in their place of public debate with applause. Publicly was it declared that there existed no God. Atheisin was publicly avowed, and all forms of government were scoffed at that held Christianity as the basis of its religion; for openly they met on the Lord's day to transact business. The orders of society were entirely destroyed; the parent was taught to abandon the child as foon as it could feed itself without affiltance; the child was taught to regard filial piety as a jest, and have no more reverence for its father than for a stranger. Laws with regard to property were annihilated, and the public were taught to be-lieve, that a man's goods may be taken from him upon the pretence that it was for the service of the public. In one inflance the proprietor of a large quantity of corn was told that he had not the property of the corn, that he had only the actual possession, for that corn was the property of the state. In all he faid, he wished to be understood as not speaking against the whole French nation. Reflections upon a whole nation, or any whole body of men, were always illiberal in principle, and generally wrong in application, and therefore he should always endeavour to avoid them. But the truth was, that all these difgraceful proceedings were not the proceedings of the French people, but of a French faction; who had, by acts of desperation, become the ruling power for a time: and the first thing they did was deluding the understanding of the populace, then frightening them with apprehensions of danger by an attempt to alter the fystem they now proceed upon; and by this seemed to have the affent of the whole people. Thus a small part of a people had, by artifice and low intrigue, acquired a temporary dominion over the whole He must again observe, that as to the smallness of the number of the affassins with their poniards with the words No King upon them being only nineteen, it was not a good argument of their not being dangerous: it should be recollected, that the number of affaffins on the fecond of September, and who made fuch mighty havoc, was only two hundred. But as to the smallness of numbers, their Lordships would recollect what happened in this metropolis in the year 1780; the whole of the number originally concerned in that infamous proceeding, and which turned out afterwards to be the terror of almost every peaceable inhabitant in the metropolis, was not three We might have been in the fame fituation as at that time, ere this, all over the country, had not Ministers timely prevented

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prevented it by calling out the militia, and by making the military preparations, which we all faw or had heard of. Such measures, it might have been expected, would have restored complete tranquillity to this country; but it had done so only in part; for it feemed it was now to be maintained that the affociation on the part of the friends of the constitution was improper, and that too when other affociations were held; not to prevent fedition, but to increase it—not to prevent anarchy, but to create it—not to check the diffemination of libels, but to foread them abroad, and even to bring into contempt the juriforudence of the country, to create discontent in the public mind at the manner the law was administered even after verdict. Persons there were who took this method of talking of the liberty of the prefs, and of continuing to abuse others for doing what was the duty of every good eitizen to do, which was to do all he could to enforce the execution of the law. He wished it to be inquired, whether those persons who had bound themselves to each other to affift the Executive Government, to enforce the law, were or were not reputable householders of good character for religion and morality? He believed the public were with these affociations, and that their voice had already been pretty clearly and animatedly expressed. He believed also, that the people of this country had felt the alarm which ministers had described, and that the Noble Earl who had spoken so decidedly against the bill, would not find himself in a pleasant situation if he undertook, from his personal knowledge, to inform the people of this country that they were not alarmed, although they felt themselves alarmed; for such an observation, however highly they might have thought formerly, and that justly, of his judgment, they would not, in that instance, compliment his His Lordship then observed, that he had heard understanding. much that this bill would tend to create a war; to which he answered, and he begged leave to say, he did not intend to relinquish the idea, it might prevent a war; for he regarded this measure as purely defensive. He had heard it mentioned, that this was equivalent to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act: the suspension of that Act would have been a strong measure, but not more so than perhaps the circumstances of the country might require; and had it been proposed, he should have affented to it; and he should have given ministers his confidence, because he knew the danger of the country.

There were two classes of Frenchmen now in this country. One who came hither by necessity, to take refuge; they should, of course, be treated with tenderness and humanity. Another class, who came hither for the purpose of, and who were active in, doing all they could to creat consustion; they, of course, were

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the proper objects of this bill, and ought to be treated with much greater feverity. There was in this country an individual who had afferted that infurrection, in certain cases, was the most facred of duties. Such a man ought not to be permitted to go about in this country. There was another man, whom he would not name, because he had lost all names, and because not to name him would be to treat him with kindness, who had so abandoned all principle, and so degraded himself, that he would never, he hoped, be permitted to fully this land by entering on any part of it. After observing that we should in this case give to ministers all the power they asked, and the confidence we were able, and regard them almost as the Romans did their confuls, because the posture of affairs seemed to demand it, he came to the necessity of the present measure, on which he observed the following question would arise: - " Can this measure be justified upon the circumstances of this country at the present moment?"-He confessed he had no difficulty in answering in the affirmative, and to add, that he was of opinion, that the fituation of the country was fuch as would have justified a much stronger measure; he did not, however, blame ministers for their moderation, but it was clear they had been very moderate. As to the disposition which had manifested itself in this country to excite tumult, and create fedition, he believed it to be still dangerous, and that it ought to be watched. It was stifled for a time, but not extinguished. It would continue in that state while this country continued to watch it, and while a neighbouring country remained in confusion, but would break out in open acts of sedition if neglected or difregarded by the Executive Government of this country; and therefore he must repeat it—the danger was not at an end in this country; and he hoped that all the inhabitants of this kingdom would join heart and hand in affifting the Executive Government, and confider themselves as pledged to fight pro aris et focis on this occasion: with fuch a fentiment we should be safe, without it we might be ruined.

The Ministry, he was glad to see, possessed the considence of this country, he should be forry indeed, if he could, to fay or do any thing that might tend to diminish that confidence, because to diminish the confidence of the country in the ministry at the present time would be to increase the danger with which the country was threatened.—He wished to avoid any thing like party spirit in the course of this proceeding: party had frequently been serviceable to this country, but when party spirit went to divide the country, when it was only by union we could be faved from ruin, party spirit was a detestable spirit.-There were many inflances where divisions of opinion on certain points were

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laudable, but not when the enemy were at the gate, and some of them within the citadel; then we ought, with a generous manliness, to suitain the acts of Administration; not, indeed, blindly and implicitly, without examining them, but after having examined, and seeing nothing greatly defective, and finding them chiefly good, to confide in them liberally for the due execution of every thing that was within the limits of their duty. All parties should come forward, and strengthen the arm of Government as much as they could; they should all bury, and forget for ever, all their former little differences and disputes, and unite in their efforts to preserve our glorious Constitution; it was such a fabric, that, if he could, he would make it immortal: his wishes certainly went to that length, and on that sub-

ject he could only add, Esto perpetua!

The MARQUIS of LANSDOWNE begged leave to make a few observations. He had been misunderstood with respect to the legality of the Associations so ably defended by the Noble and Learned Lord, and of the propriety of some of them, That which was convened at Merchant Taylors' Hall, he entirely agreed with; that also which met at the parish in which he lived met his entire approbation: and the reason why he did not attend it, and subscribe to the Resolutions entered into at that place, was, that he felt it perfectly ridiculous formally to profess, what every body knew him, who ever knew any thing of him, to feel and acknowledge; he thought it would look as if he thought he was fuspected. He was as much for the inculcating of moral precepts, and teaching reverence for religion, as the Noble and Learned Lord could be. He was also as much attached to the present form of government, and he would undertake to fay, that the lower order of fociety in Wiltshire, and great part of the west of England, never read Mr. Paine's books. As to the poniards alluded to by the Noble and Learned Lord, he declared upon his honour this was the first time he ever heard of them; but he must observe, that if Ministers knew of such things, it must be an easy thing for those to prove them.—As to all those accounts of conspiracies, and suspicions of conspiracies, he could not fee how the people of this country were to be benefitted by their recital: perhaps spreading sentiments of morality among the lower class might more effectually secure their esteem to the present Government, than telling them so often of plots and affaffinations.

LORD RAWDON declared himself a friend to the principle of the Bill, and expressed his readiness to do every thing in support of it that depended on him.

The EARL of GUILDFORD observed, that the main objection which had been stated to this Bill, and all the mea-

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fures of Administration of the like kind, still remained as much unanswered as at first, namely, that no ground had been laid down as a foundation for the necessity of the Bill. He then observed, that the present Bill was repugnant to the whole spirit, and to the letter of the fourth article of the Commercial Treaty between this country and France. [Here his Lordship read the article.] He concluded with observing, that this Bill was considered as a prelude to war, the only reason we had for entering on which was, that we stood pledged a century and an half ago to maintain by force a point that perhaps may be given up by our own ally.

The DUKE of RICHMOND answered the Noble Earl upon the fourth article of the Commercial Treaty. He observed, that the French had frequently refused passports for several days to Englishmen when in France. He contended, that this was not to be considered as a breach of the Commercial Treaty, but the effect of particular circumstances. With regard to the general subject of debate, he begged leave to be considered as adopting all the sentiments of the Noble and Learned Lord

who spoke so ably upon this subject.

The EARL of LAUDERDALE rose to explain. observed, that he had not said, nor intended to say, any thing on the illegality of the Associations of which he had taken notice. What he intended to convey was, that they would have an effeet which he deprecated, and for which the proceedings in France were fo much, and in that respect, justly censured. It went to establish a government by clubs. As to what the Noble and Learned Lord was pleased to fay, with all the power of language for which he was so eminently distinguished, about the ridicule that would attach to him if he attempted to tell the people of this country that they were not alarmed when they felt they were alarmed, he could only beg leave to remind the Noble and Learned Lord of the fituation into which he was led by indulging his talents, on a former celebrated occasion, against a well known member of another country, and how that affair terminated.

[This we understood to allude to Lord Loughborough's celebrated speech against Dr. Franklin, before the Privy Council,

upon the case of Governor Hutchinson.]

The Earl of Lauderdale then proceeded to lament the loss of the great talents and abilities of Lord Loughborough to the party of which he was so long so conspicuous, useful, and ornamental a member. The noble Earl said, that he, and the party whom the learned Lord had now for saken, had as much attachment to the Constitution as the Noble and Learned Lord had or could have; and he could not help saying, that it was a little

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hard that the moment the Noble and Learned Lord deferted the

party, he regarded them as being completely detestible.

LORD LOUGHBOROUGH observed upon the allusion to the affair, as we understood, of Dr. Franklin. He faid, that no one incident of his life gave him more firmness than that to which the Noble Earl alluded. He never repented, he never fhould repent, of the part he had taken upon that fubject. What that had to do with the debate now before the House, he left their Lordships to determine. He should still say, that in that case he spoke as a professional man at the Council Board; and the talents of the man whom he opposed could not alter the merits of the case, nor could the success in the event do so. He might have been right at the time, notwithftanding both thefe As to the party to which the Noble Earl alludcircumstances. ed, by which he meant, he prefumed, the Opposition, as the term was, he knew them to be men of great talents and virtue, and confequently not likely to thwart the measures of government where unanimity was so desirable, and while they recollected the effect of the riots in 1780. But as the subject of party was brought forward, he must observe, that the Noble Earl and himself had not now, nor ever had, any connection whatever together in a party: to talk, therefore, of his deferting the Noble Earl, and his party, was certainly extrinfic of all party as to him (Lord Loughborough); but, after all, if the Noble Earl chose still to allude to those who had been in opposition for some years, he entreated the Noble Earl to reflect, whether, in general, they agreed with the Noble Earl, or with him (Lord Loughborough), upon the subject.

The EARL of LAUDERDALE observed, that his Lordfhip and himself differed very widely upon this subject; who judged nearer the public will, time would shortly discover; it was a tonic not likely soon to be forgotten by the public

Was a topic not likely foon to be forgotten by the public.

The Motion for reading the Bill at a future day, was then negatived without a division, and the Bill immediately read a

third time, and paffed.

DECEMBER 27, 28, and 29.

No debates. Adjourned to January 1, 1793.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

DECEMBER 17.

Admiral Sir JOHN JARVIS gave notice of a motion which he intended to make on a subject interesting to the humanity and justice of the nation. That the House, and his Majesty's Ministers, might not have any reason to complain that he meant to take them by surprise, he said he would on

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this occasion state the object to which his motion would refer. There were great numbers of feamen discharged from his Majesty's service as superannuated, who were at present in the utmost distress; they were plying at this time on the keys, endeavouring to procure a morfel of bread: their fituation, which he daily witnessed as he passed to and from his office, struck him as truly pitiable and deplorable. Though entitled to admission into Greenwich hospital, they could not be at present received into that afylum, because it was completely full; they must wait, therefore, until vacancies should occur; but, in the mean time, they were fuffering every possible hardship and distress. What he meant to propose for their relief, and for that of all others who should hereafter be in a similar situation, was to move for leave to bring in a Bill to enact, that from the time that a seaman belonging to his Majesty's service should have passed the survey for Greenwich Hospital, he should be considered as an out-penfioner until he should be admitted into the house, and during that interval receive a certain fixed allowance from the state. He declared, that in this business he was actuated not by any wish for popularity in his profession, but solely by a motive of humanity and justice towards a most useful and deserving set of men, who, though they were the best friends to the state, were themselves friendless, and destitute of support. He said, that if his Majelty's Ministers would take up the matter, he would most readily relinquish it to them; but should not they think it proper to take the lead in it, he certainly would, on Thursday next, (the 20th) make a Motion on the subject.

Mr. GREY rose, he said, in consequence of the notice which he gave on a former day, to make a Motion, which he thought proper at the time when he gave the notice, but which at present he deemed absolutely necessary.—A Right Honourable Secretary of State seemed somewhat surprised when, on a former day, he (Mr. Grey) had infinuated that all his Majesty's fubjects were not equally protected. This day, he faid, he would do more than infinuate; he would roundly and diffinctly affert, that all the subjects of the realm did not find equal protection, and that his Majesty's Ministers were not as vigilant as they ought to be in shielding certain descriptions of persons from outrage and violence. This want of vigilance might well be misinterpreted by evil-minded men into a kind of connivance on the part of government, at the violation of law, which certain classes of individuals experienced in their persons and property. The remisshess which appeared in the conduct of ministers, respecting the riots of Birmingham, last year—the manner in which they punished the rioters, and their opposition to a Motion made by an Honourable Friend of his (Mr. Whitbread)

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for inquiring into the conduct of the magistrates in the neighbourhood of Birmingham on that occasion, were irrefragable proofs that all his Majesty's subjects did not find equal protection from those whose duty it was to see obedience to the laws strictly and impartially conferred. Ministers were forward enough to take notice of any riot which might afford them a pretext for carrying some favourite measure into execution; but if any riot of a different complection happened to take place, they shewed They had little disposition to ground any proceeding upon it. thought it proper, for the purpose of spreading an alarm, to call out the militia, and fummon a premature meeting of Parliament; and then they justified the measure, by saying that insurrections had broken out in various parts of the country: but, when preffed to point out the places where these insurrections had happened, those answers proved that their proceedings were bottomed on They mentioned Salifbury, Shields, Yarmouth, false pretences. and Dundee: but an Hon. Member (Mr. Huffey) maintained to their face, on the first day of the Session, that at Salisbury no infurrection whatever had taken place. It was proved by other members, that the riots which had disturbed the peace of Shields and Yarmouth, were not even in the smallest degree connected with the political questions, with the agitation of which minifters affected to be alarmed; and fuch as these riots were, they had been suppressed ten days before the Proclamation was issued If the riot (if it could be called by for calling out the militia. that name, which took place at Dundee) was that on account of which the militia was embodied, it was rather fingular that the way which ministers pursued for quelling it, was to march troops, not to Dundee, but towards London. The effect of the Proclamation for calling Parliament, instead of producing obedience to the laws, appeared to him calculated to create infurrection, bring down the vengeance of a deluded mob upon certain descriptions of people, and throw the country into confu-Some of these happy effects, he understood, had already flowed from it, and disturbed the peace of Manchester and Cam-At the latter place, he heard, a loyal mob, crying out, "King and Constitution," had proceeded so far as to destroy a meeting-house belonging to a congregation of Protestant Diffenters; and had threatened the house and person of an individual of that perfuafion. At Birmingham too, a mob repaired to the houses of Messrs. Humphries and Dutton, who had been sufferers in the former riot in that town; but fortunately without attacking their dwellings, was fatisfied with making those gentle-men get up from their beds, at three o'clock in the morning, and fing, "God fave the King." But at Manchester, two respectable citizens, Mr. Walker, a capital manufacturer, and

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Mr. Falkner, the printer of a newspaper, had run great risk of their lives, a mob having attacked their houses, and demolished their windows.

Reports were actually in London, that an Honourable Member of the House of Commons (Mr. Peele, representative of Tamworth) had that morning received an express from Manchefter, with intelligence, that on Saturday last the riot had been renewed, and another attack had been made on Walker and Falkner, from which both had the good fortune to escape with their lives, the former, however, with very great difficulty. He wished the Honourable Member would state what he knew on the subject, and he applied to him with the greater earnestness, as a publication had lately appeared in London, in which mention was made of the Honourable Gentleman's name in fuch a way as certainly required explanation. In a paper called the Sun, which was not unconnected with Ministry, an account was given of a meeting held at Manchester on the 11th inst. at which the Hon. Member was reprefented as having held language calculated to inflame the public mind, and rouse the people to acts of outrage and violence. It was flated, that he had faid, " it was time to found the trumpet of alarm, and rouse the people from their lethargy;" that he made use of expressions tending to convince the multitude that the Constitution was in danger; and, in order at once to testify his own loyalty, and call forth that of his auditors, he ejaculated, " God fave the King." The account further stated, that he had, without the fmallest discrimination, represented the advocates for reform as forming one common mass and common cause with those who wanted to pull down the whole fabric of the Constitution. If the Hon. Member made use of so libellous and expression, so injurious to the character of some of the best men and best patriots in the nation, he thus publicly called upon him to avow this opinion like a man, if he entertained it, or disavow it, if he never expressed it. Mr. Grey adverted next to the various Affociations formed in London, for the purpose, as they declared, of counteracting feditious publications; but, in his opinion, he faid, some of them, forgetting the avowed object of their inftitution, were the means of circulating papers which not only could not fail to excite fedition, but absolutely pointed out the class of persons against whom the loyalty of the mob should be He held in his hand a paper of this description, intidirected. tuled, " A Pennyworth of Truth from Thomas Bull to his brother John," in which it was afferted, that the Presbyterians had been the cause of the disturbances in America; that by them the expences of the American war had been incurred, and "that the Birmingham Doctor (Priestley) was more infamous than

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even Paine." Such language as this was evidently calculated to excite the rage of the mob against the whole body of the Presbyterians, and particularly against Dr. Priestley, who, both as a man of virtue and of science, ought to be dear to every person of probity and honour. This gentleman had already been a great fufferer through the perfecuting bigotry of a Birmingham mob; and the treatment experienced by those who had destroyed his property, was not fuch as was likely to deter them from repeating their outrages against him, if an opportunity should occur. The damages for which he got a verdict were short of his real loss by 2000l.; his bill of costs amounted to 8 gol. and not one shilling of the whole had he yet received. The persons whose duty it was to affess the damages upon the hundred had hitherto neglected to perform it; and the Doctor was to fuffer through their unpardonable neglect. His case, he understood, was now before his Majesty's Ministers, who were considering what relief should be granted to him. This gentleman might well complain that he felt not equal protection with the rest of his fellow subjects from the Executive Government: when the Magistrates, who were appointed to inquire into the cause and effects of the riots at Birmingham, were in that town, they were extremely bufy, not so much in looking out to discover who were the persons that had committed depredations on his property, as in examining what remained of his books and papers, to try whether they might find among them some seditious writing on which a profecution might be instituted against The feditious publication of which he intended particularly to complain at prefent, was the above " Pennyworth of Truth from Thomas Bull to his Brother John;" a publication which might draw upon the Protestant Dissenters in general, and on Dr. Priestley in particular, a popular persecution as disgraceful to the liberality of the age, and the laws of England, as it might be destructive of their property, and dangerous to The title of this paper he found in the lift of their persons. publications recommended by the Affociation of the Crown and Anchor Tavern. He sent for it to that place; but the information received by the person whom he employed on the occasion was, that no paper was given away by the Association to any one who was not a member; but that, if he went to Stockdale's, he might be fure to get one there for fale. Grey faid, he accordingly fent to Stockdale's, where the paper, which he then held in his hand, and which contained the leditious passage that he had mentioned, was purchased. trelpassing any longer on the patience of the House, he said he would beg leave to move, that the faid paper should be delivered in at the table, and read by the Clerk. He made his motion accordingly,

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cordingly, and faid, that he intended to follow it up with another for a direction to the Attorney General to profecute the

author and publisher of the faid paper.

The MASTER OF THE ROLLS just observed, that the Honourable Member ought to read the paper, for the purpose of enabling the House to judge beforehand, whether it really contained a libel; for it would be an idle proceeding, ill becoming the dignity and gravity of that Assembly, first to admit a paper to be brought up, and put into the hands of the House as a seditious libel on which a prosecution ought to be founded, and which might, when read, be found not to be in any degree libellous.

Mr. GREY faid, he did not want to complain of the whole paper, but only a part of it; that part he had already read, but, for the fatisfaction of the Right Hon. and Learned Gentleman, he faid he would read it again. He accordingly read it, and then repeated his motion, which was seconded by half a

fcore members, but without any speech.

Mr. PEELE hoped, that as the Honourable Gentleman had addressed himself so very particularly to him, the House would indulge him so far as to hear with patience the few observations which he had to make in reply. He faid, that with respect to the account given in the Sun, of his speech at the meeting at Manchefter, on the 11th instant, he disavowed and disclaimed every part of it except one; he had not faid one word about founding the trumpet of alarm, or roufing the people from their lethargy; but it was true that he had done that which he never till this day could have thought would have been deemed a crime, he had with heart and foul exclaimed on that occasion, "God fave the King." The meeting in question was an open one, and whilst, on the one hand, every person who spoke at it expressed the most unbounded loyalty, all endeavoured to inculcate in the minds of the common people the necessity of refraining from every act of violence and outrage. The Committee appointed by the meeting, affembled at the Bull Head Inn the next day, and drew up an address to the people, informing them, that all acts of violence done by them, unauthorised by law, would be criminal; and that whatever damage they might be tempted to do to the property of any person, must be levied upon the hundred, and would confequently fall upon themselves; that, therefore, respect for the laws, and regard for themselves, should make them take care not to do the least injury to the property of any of their neighbours. This certainly was not language calculated to excite fedition, or rouse the people to acts of violence. The conduct of the Committee was of a piece with this Address; for when word was brought that the house of an inhabiNS.

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tant was in danger, the gentlemen of the Committee repaired to it immediately, drew up in a body round it, and had the good fortune to fucceed not only in preferving it from destruction,

but also in saving the life of the owner.

With respect to the report that he (Mr. Peele) had that morning received an express from Manchester, with intelligence of new riots, he faid it was not true; he had indeed received a letter, but it informed him that at the time it was written all was perfectly quiet and orderly. He admitted, however, that there were flying reports in town of a fecond tumult at Manchelter; but he had not heard of any authentic account of it. Manchester, he observed, was formerly considered as disaffected to the Brunswick government; but he believed that at present there was not a more loyal, or a better governed town in his Majelty's dominions. There were indeed to be be found in it fome discontented people; and pains had been taken by some perions, whom he did not know, to fpread discontents among the working men. He believed he employed as many manufacturers as any one in Manchester, and he knew that seditious papers had been put into the hands of every one of them; but though they might read as well as their fellow subjects in Scotland, or be in other respects as well educated, they certainly thought and The working people of Manchester wished reasoned better. not for that equality for which the French were such sticklers; equality of circumstances they were perfectly convinced was not intended by nature, and could not be established. They knew that peace was the foul and trade of manufactures; that in times of internal tumult and diffurbance orders for work would be discontinued; that they themselves must then be without employment, and that they must, under such circumstances, be deprived of the benefit arising from their industry, that industry which rendered the poorest of them as rich as many of the lately elected Kings of France. They had fense enough to see the miseries that must befall themselves if they were to imitate the example of the French; they were fully sensible of the calamities which a fimilar revolution would bring upon them, "We want not, (they were daily heard to fay,) we " want not to be put in the fituation of the French; we with " not for that liberty which would make us give two shillings " for eight pence; we will not barter good leather shoes for a " liberty that would confine our feet in wooden ones, nor would " it ever enter into our heads that we should better our situation " by throwing away our breeches, and becoming fans culottes." Such, he declared, were the fentiments of the working people of Manchester, and such, he trusted, they would ever continue

Mr.

Mr. ADAM observed, that the allusion made by the Hon. Member to the people of Scotland, could not possibly be attended with any advantage to the public cause. It could not be for the good of that cause, that when the nation might be considered as on the eve of a war, it should be publicly announced. at least pretty broadly infinuated, that so considerable a portion of the inhabitants of Great-Britain, as were the people of Scotland, were diffatisfied and discontented. Nor should it, on the other hand, be imputed to them as a crime that they admired and revered the British Constitution, and were heartily desirous of enjoying the bleffings of it in as great a degree as their fellowsubjects in the fouthern part of the island. Mr. Adam adverted next to a question immediately before the House, and condemned a new species of institution in England, which would convert the conflitution of this kingdom into what was fo much reprobated in France—a government by clubs. He was not able to reconcile to principles of law a body of men affociating and establishing a fund for the purpose of defraying the expences of profecuting the authors and publishers of feditious libels: this he thought an illegal proceeding, encroaching upon the province of Grand Juries, and of the King's Attorney General-he did not know in what language to speak of societies formed for the suppression of seditious libels, and yet publishing such themselves. The paper which was the subject of his Hon. Friend's motion, he considered as of a most daring and seditious tendency; and, as the publishers of it ought to be severely punished, he would give the motion his most hearty support.

Mr. YORK faid that the riot at Cambridge, to which the Hon. Mover of the question had alluded, was by no means of as serious a nature as that Hon. Gentleman seemed to think. The people, he said, had assembled at the house of one Musgrave, a taylor, who had given offence by some indiscreet words, and compelled him to sing "God save the King," but did him no mischief, nor offered him any fort of violence. The Vice-Chancellor and other magistrates prevailed upon the multitude to disperse. Some of the people pretended to go home, and having thus lulled the gentlemen into a saile security, repaired to a meeting house at some distance, and were beginning to injure it. The Magistrates, apprised of this, instantly repaired to the spot, and dispersed the mob, before it had done any other mischief than breaking two windows, and wrenching away some

iron rails that stood before the door.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL said, that, considering the situation in which he stood, it would not become him to give any opinion on the paper which was the subject of the Motion; he was on that head to receive the orders of the House and obey

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them, but not to attempt to influence their decision either by argument or by vote, and therefore he intended to withdraw after he should have made one or two observations in general on profecutions for libels ordered by the House of Commons. It ought first to be well considered, whether the paper which was to be made the ground-work of a criminal proceeding, was really libellous or not; and fecondly, whether it was probable that a conviction might be procured; for it would be an aukward circumstance that a House of Parliament should order a prosecution for a paper which might be pronounced by the Judges not to be a libel, or which being one, was of fuch a nature that it could not be proved. In such a case the House, to use a coarse but an expressive faying, would " shew its teeth when it could " not bite." It would require much time even for a profeffional man to peruse a paper long and examine all its parts attentively, before he could tell whether he could make it the ground of an information or an indictment; how then could it be expected that the House should in a moment be able to form a judgment of fuch a case? He had more than once prosecuted, in obedience to the commands of the House, when he knew he could not convict the accused; but he was gagged by order to profecute, and could not fay beforehand that a conviction was not to be expected. He therefore wished that gentlemen, whenever they wanted to move for a Profecution of any perform for a Libel, would state the matter to the House, and then allow a fufficient time for confideration, before they made their motion and called for a final determination. Having faid this, the Attorney General withdrew.

Mr. JEKYLL faid, that the Learned Gentleman's Speech had more of exhortation than argument in it; but as he had withdrawn, he would not make any further observation upon it. He condemned in very severe terms the conduct of some of the Associations in publishing papers, the obvious tendency of which was to bring down upon the Dissenters all the rage and sury of a bigotted mob; to prove the truth of this affertion, he

read one which appeared to answer the description.

Mr. ANSTRUTHER replied to what Mr. Adam faid of Affociations; he denied that those to which his Honourable Friend alluded were disposed or likely to establish government by clubs; on the contrary, they affociated solely for the purpose of aiding the Civil Magistrate in the execution of the law, and not of setting up their own decrees as the law of the land. In establishing a fund for destraying the desence of prosecutions, their conduct was strictly legal, for every man was lest by the law at liberty to do so; they meant not to pass by the grand juries, but, on the contrary, to present to them such publications as

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ought to be made the subjects of prosecutions: this every individual subject was authorised to do by law; and consequently it was not illegal in a body to do it. Very dangerous papers, indeed, were in circulation. One had been sent to him in which the writer complained of rents, taxes, and monopoly of lands, as intolerable grievances, which ought immediately to be removed. As to the paper which was the subject of the motion then before the House, he could say that he was in possession of a copy of "A Pennyworth of Truth from Thomas Bull to his Brother "John," published at the Association by the Crown and Anchor, in which the libellous passage contained in the copy presented by his Honourable Friend was not to be found.—Mr. Anstruther, in the course of his speech, alluded to the treatment of Mr. Humphries.

Mr. LAMBTON gave it as his opinion, that many of the publications distributed by various Associations, could not fail of producing tumults and discontents, for they involved, in one common censure, not only those who wanted to pull down the Constitution, if such there were, but also all those who were advocates for reform; and branded all with the name of incendiaries: now, for his part, he was not assaid to acknowledge that he was a determined friend to a Reform in Parliament; and he could not help thinking, that, instead of being deemed for this an incendiary, he ought to be ranked among the true friends of his

country, and of the Constitution.

Mr. Yorke and Mr. Lambton were up two or three times to

explain what each had feemed to mifunderstand.

Mr. GREGOR expressed great satisfaction at the conduct of a Right Honourable Gentleman whom he did not fee in his place [Mr. Pitt], whose vigilance had faved the country, and as warmly condemned that of another Right Honourable Gentleman, whose late proceedings tended to produce the most mischievous consequences. He well knew that a number of societies, hostile to the interests of government, carried on a correspondence with people abroad, and published various inflammatory papers for the purpose of promoting seditious insurrections. No ill effects, it was observed, had arisen at Manchester from these publications; but it was true, that the means of producing these effects had been attempted, and, of the large number of workmen whom he employed, there was scarcely any who had not received some one or other of the writings in question. When the spirit of party ran so high, there would indeed be various publications on both fides, and if they were to excite the notice of that House, gentlemen would have nothing else to occupy their time and attention.

Mr. FOX faid, that he had been better treated by the Hon. Gentleman,

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Gentleman, who afferted that mischievous consequences might be expected to arise from his late conduct, than by others who had imputed that conduct to evil motives; but when that Hon. Gentleman made fuch an affertion, he would thank him to prove how his conduct could lead to mischievous consequences. fince argument weighed more in his mind than invective. He did not know, Mr. Fox faid, whether it was necessary to begin and end his speech, in these times, with saying, " God save the King;" but if so, he had both said it and sung it with all his It was the custom, with the dramatic writers of Italy, to preface those plays which turned on any subject of the heathen mythology, with a declaration that, though Jupiter, Juno. &c. were among the characters of the piece, there was no intention whatever of making any offensive allusion to the established religion of the country: and, on the same principle, he thought it necessary to say, that whenever he should use the word equality in the course of his present speech, he meant not to be understood in the obnoxious sense which was generally annexed to According to the opinion of the late Mr. that expression. Grenville, it would certainly be irregular to refuse the paper; but he thought that opinion was erroneous; and if the paper was refused, after the various profecutions commenced against libels on the other fide of the question, would fuch conduct appear like a regard to equality or justice?

Mr. Fox spoke in energetic terms of the hard treatment to which Diffenters were peculiarly exposed, and asked if any man who looked to their fituation could have the heart to fay that they did not require to be put under the protection of the law? An Honourable Gentleman had faid, that the necessity of quitting his bed in the night, for the purpose of singing "God save the King," had been a punishment to Mr. Humphries, and the general exultation of the House seemed to imply a satisfaction that Mr. Humphries should have been thus punished rather than any other man: but the good sense of the Honourable Gentleman had induced him, on recollection, to confess, that it was treatment which he himself should not have liked, and he defired to know what man would like it? With regard to Mr. Walker, Mr. Fox faid, he believed a worthier character did not exist; and whatever erroneous and strange notions any person might entertain on the subject of the English Constitution, if he was a man who merited efteem and respect for the integrity of his conduct in common life, he saw no reason why he should be rendered obnoxious for speculative opinions. Such a principle of liberality he, however, for his part, wished to cultivate, and he thought, if men would make a sympathy for the errors of others a ground of toleration, it would be better for the

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With regard to affociawhole country at the present crisis. tions, he thought that what was frequently illegal for one man, might be done by twenty or thirty with perfect legality; and if affociations were entered into for the support of the Constitution, and the prevention of tumults, the measure was not only legal but laudable. But affociations, for the purpose of conducting profecution for libels, might be legal, but, in his opinion, were very far from being meritorious. Why affociate for the profecution of libels, when the Attorney General, the Solicitor General, every common mode at law, was competent to that purpose? Mr. Fox declared, that he would willingly enter into an affociation to support the Constitution of this country; but he would not trust himself to associate with men, of similar sentiments with his own, in order to co-operate in the profecution of libels, containing what were termed feditious doctrines. The measure had been applauded on the ground of the tendency of fuch libels to occasion tumults: but the fact was, that not a fingle tumult had arisen from writings of that nature, whereas the contrary doctrines had actually produced the effects which these prosecutions were intended to prevent. His object, Mr. Fox faid, was the defence of the Constitution, and all that he required for this purpuse was impartiality; and it surely was not requiring a rigorous impartiality, when, in order to defend the Constitution, he wished to prove that riots were equally to be condemned, whether they were produced by the doctrines of the "Rights of Man," or by the magic founds of "Church and No tumults, however, had yet arisen from the first of these grounds; but more than one had happened from the latter; and was the present libel free from danger to his Majesty's fubjects? By no means. It was faid, that the expression of " divine right" was nonfense; but it might be remembered that fuch nonfense had caused two rebellions fince the Revolution.— That libel stated, among other things, that only anointed kings were entitled to the obedience of the people; and what did this imply but that if the ceremony of anomating were omitted in the Coronation of any of the Royal Family, that personage was not entitled to the obedience of the people?—Was this short of high treason? - Did it not tend to shake his Majesty's throne? -And if those who applied for the paper at the Crown and Anchor, were referred to the bookfeller from whom it might be purchased, were not as much pains then taken to circulate such doctrines, as those which had been shewn in propagating the principles of the Rights of Man? It was faid, that Dr. Priestley's writings against the American war had rendered him responsible for all the taxes which that war had since brought upon the country; but how would every gentleman who had spoken

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or written against that measure admire the application of such logic to himself?—God forbid, Mr. Fox exclaimed, that the people of this country should tread in the steps of France! but he must say, that they approached very near them. In France they had been guilty of tyranny, to the criminal extent of which we were, he was glad to observe, perfect strangers. Particular persons in Paris, it was faid, went about desiring men to take the civic oath, and those who would not take it saw their names immediately afterwards posted up, in order that they might be marked out as objects to popular vengeance. Did not several of our Parochial Affociations act somewhat in a similar manner, by publishing the names of those who refused to subscribe themselves, separate from the others, in order to point them out as proper subjects of the odium and resentment of a furious mob? He faid, when people had asked him how they should act with regard to affociations to which they had been defired to subscribe their name, he had advised them by all means to subscribe their names. Mr. Fox stated the contents of a Bill which he had feen, inviting an affociation for a very loyal purpose, and ending with the words, "Destruction to Mr. Fox and his Jacobine Banditti." As the place of meeting was at Staines, a town only afew miles from his residence, this act of civility might have brought down on his own head confequences similar to those which had been so severely suffered by others, but that, however successful his enemies had frequently been in endeavouring. to make him unpopular where he was unknown, he generally had the good luck not to be unpopular where he was known. such arts had proved too successful towards the obnoxious part of the Diffenters, whom it really appeared an object of policy to The extermination of the Diffenperfecute to extermination. ters, it must readily be admitted, would not be so great an evil as the subversion of the Constitution: but why were we to have recourse even to the lesser evil? Why drive from this country men, whose cultivation of the sciences, whose loyalty to the House of Brunswick, and whose commercial wealth, were so highly conducive to its welfare? Why incite the mobs to fire their houses, when the loss must be levied on the country, and the people of England pay for the fins of Birmingham?

Mr. GREGOR was about to state what he deemed the probable consequences of Mr. Fox's conduct, when the Speaker informed him that to rise a second time, unless for the purpose of

explanation, was contrary to the orders of the House.

Mr. WYNDHAM confessed himself not convinced by the reasoning of his Right Honourable Friend, though he admitted that he had worked his point with great force and integrity. He thought that whatever might be the merits of the character of

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Mr. Walker, his conduct in concurring with obnoxious principles of politics had very naturally inflamed the indignation of the people of Manchester, and produced the events which every man might expect, though every man must condemn. As his Honourable Friend had not gone at length into the legality of Affociations, he should say but little on the subject. He certainly could not believe it either illegal or improper to strengthen the arm of the magistrate by affociations in support of law and With regard to the danger of infurrections, he government. was much less convinced of it now than he had been a few weeks fince, when certain men freely expressed a wish to overturn the Constitution, as consisting of King, Lords, and Commons, to defroy our civil and religious establishments, to change our manners, and to leave human nature a mere rafa tabula for them to deform with the novel systems of their wild imagina-The only way Mr. Wyndham thought to prevent men from taking justice into their own hands, was to give their feelings a legal vent, and to make laws to which they could appeal, when injured, for redress. He deplored the riots at Birmingham; but if that part of the country had been free from laws, he should have thought it right for those who were aggrieved, to take the remedy into their own hands; the fact, however, was otherwise, and therefore neither mobs nor violences were to be justified. All that the Affociations intended, was to enforce those laws, to which alone they could look for protection; and from viewing the subject in this light, he had been induced to become one of their members.

Mr. HAWKINS BROWN spoke against the Motion.

Mr. MONTAGUE spoke against the Motion; and said, he did not envy the Hon. Gentleman on the other side of the House, for the popularity which he might gain among our enemies, when he reslected on the light in which he must be viewed by the people of this country.

Mr. GREY explained a misconception with regard to a passage in his former speech relative to a Society calling itself the

" Loyal True Blues."

ALDERMAN WATSON defended the loyalty of the Diffenters.

Mr. MITFORD faid that no man could wish better to the cause of toleration than he did: but he believed that we must not look forward to the period when the earth should be blessed with complete toleration, till sectaries ceased to connect political opinions with religious faith. But the conduct of gentlemen on the other side of the House, by strengthening such prejudices, was not likely to accelerate that period. With regard to insurrections, that House had been told that the insurrection at Dundard

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dee was nothing more than the sportiveness of boys, who amused themselves with planting the Tree of Liberty. But was not the chief mischief which took place during Lord George Gordon's riots produced by boys?—Was not the three days Sovereignty of Naples produced by Maffienello and his boys?—Let it not be faid, then, that an infurrection produced by boys only is free from danger. Mr. Mitford concluded by observing, that he was extremely fatisfied with the measures which had been taken for quelling those tumults; and said, that if the letter of the Act of Parliament had not been strictly adhered to in this business, the desirable object had been gained by a compliance with its spirit.

Mr. DUNDAS faid, that as Ministers had been charged with not having acted with fufficient zeal at the time of the riots at Birmingham, he felt himself accused in his official character. He contradicted the accusation, and said that he had already explained his conduct in an ample, and, he trufted, fatisfactory manner, on the subject. With regard to Manchester, he could not wonder, after Mr. Cooper and Mr. Walker had given the National Affembly of France an idea that the people of that town were tainted with those political principles which they abhorred, that they should thus turbulently have manifested their indignation. He did not, however, pretend to fay that tiots were justifiable on any pretext whatever, and had no fooner received information of those which took place at Manchester, than he adopted such measures as his duty prescribed. He then read some letters which had passed between him and the magistrates of that town on the subject. Before he fat down, Mr. Dundas condemned Mr. Fox for having advited men to fign their names to affociations which their confciences might disapprove; and thought it was inducing magistrates to place a falle hope of affiftance in the hour of danger on those who were traitors to the cause of the Constitution of their country.

Mr. FOX, in explanation, faid, that he afferted nothing which could lead the Right Honourable Gentleman to infer that those whom he had advised to fign their names to parochial affociations were disaffected to the cause. The fact was, that he had merely given such advice to those persons who spoke to him on the subject, and whose fortunes were dependent—and he had no reason to believe that any person to whom he had given such

advice was a traitor.

Mr. DRAKE declared himself happy in having heard a Right Honourable Gentleman, whose opinion was of the utmost weight in this country, declare himself ready to say, "God fave the King," and to put his name on the lift of any affociation formed for the purpose of preventing tumults. He said that the legality or illegality of affociations depended, in his opi-

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nion, folely on their intention of enforcing, or discountenancing, the laws of the land: and as the object of the present associations was to enforce the laws, he was avowedly a friend to their institution.

Mr. DAVID SCOTT faid, that it was with much reluctance he ever intruded upon the House, and more particularly at this late hour of the night; but as he felt it the duty of every Member of Parliament, when fuch confequential questions as the present and the late ones were agitated, to bring forward fuch information as might throw light upon the fubject, he hoped the House would indulge him with a few minutes attention. One principal reason which weighed with him against the House taking notice of the paper under discussion was, that he had feen above one hundred papers pass unnoticed, containing the most feditious advice, addressed to all descriptions of the lower order of the people (no doubt from focieties styled Friends of the People, for all papers of fuch tendency feemed to claim that name), inviting them to unite their exertions to reform the Parliament, which none could doubt being corrupt, as it was declared fo both in and out of the House of Commons, by its own members. Having no idea, when he came down to the House, that so novel a question as the present would be brought forward, he came unprepared; else he could have brought several papers full of fedition, of the most dangerous matter, and clearly meant for overthrowing our best of Constitutions, and bringing us into anarchy and confusion, similar to a neighbouring kingdom. As one of these papers however happened to be in his pocket, he begged leave to read part of it to the House. Here Mr. Scott read a part of the paper, which appeared to have been circulated in Scotland in November last, and was signed by William Christie, John Smart, and seven other persons, whose names we do not recollect.] These persons, he faid, avowed publicly their having figned it, corresponded with other fimilar clubs, and canvaffed industriously for additional members. This paper was by no means fo violent, he thought, as many of the others; it only invited all householders, or heads of families refiding in the country, without exception, including farmers, merchants, tradefmen, and day-labourers, to new model the Constitution by having an annual Parliament instead of a septennial one, and a few other fuch trifling amendments; but which he did not conceive could be pleafant to the Honourable Members of that House. It went on to acquaint those to whom it was addressed, that the only reason which could be given against this was, that this Parliament was constituted as it now stands at the Revolution; but this, fay the Society, can be no good reason to men of sense, as the country has altered fince that time in

many points, and so should the Constitution. Mr. Scott added, that though the authors of this paper could be immediately produced, he should never have had an idea of complaining of it to the House, because he confidered productions from so mean a description of people far beneath the dignity of Parliament. Had these papers come from higher characters, and merited public notice, he should have brought them before the courts of law, which he conceived the only proper places for fuch papers. A paper under the fame address, from T. Bull to J. Bull, with that complained of by the Honourable Gentleman, he had read, and could find nothing feditious in it; on the contrary, much good advice, given in that plain language best suited to the people it appeared to be meant for. He observed, however. that there were two of these papers nearly similar, the paragraph relating to the diffenters being left out of one of them: But whether this paragraph was in or out, furely the paper was not to be compared to the paper from Scotland, which he had read. There having been repeated references, Mr. Scott faid, made by the other fide of the House, to prove that the late riots never existed but in the minister's brain, and that they had spread the alarm of infurrection, &c. without reason, of which the riots at Dundee had just been stated by an Hon. Gentleman; as a proof, he begged leave to give the House some information, founded upon facts, of those riots, and the cause which was faid by the rioters themselves to have produced them. An Hon. Gentleman had acquainted the House that the riot at Dundee was composed of only a few schoolboys, not one of them above 16 years of age, who amused themselves for a few hours with planting the tree of liberty. This he faid was a bare affertion from that fide of the House. He would compare the fact as fubstantiated by incontrovertible evidence: when he was in the North lately, feeing the number of feditious pamphlets and papers in circulation, and the great industry used to corrupt the minds of the people, he used every means in his power to trace the causes of the people's discontent, and to apply a remedy; he found that there were several societies of such inconsiderable people as appeared in the paper in his hand, who had been misled, as they acquainted him, by others called the Friends of the People; that there were feveral Members of the House of Commons who, as they understood, had declared the Parliament corrupt, and had invited all people to unite in reforming it. There were no nots, Mr. Scott faid, until after he had left Scotland, and that the first happened at Dundee. Dundee was a manufacturing town in the county which he had the honour to reprefent, and contained about twenty thousand inhabitants; it became his duty to be more particularly attentive to what passed in that county,

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and he therefore corresponded regularly with the Magistrates of all the boroughs, and with the country Gentlemen who were best informed, and during one month, while these tumults appeared, he had daily reports from each borough. If he was wrong in any part of his information on this point, the Right Hon. Secretary of State, who was then in Scotland, could correct him, as he had also daily reports from each borough, which were, after perusal, forwarded to the Secretary of State's Office in London, where Mr. Scott perused these likewise. The riot at Dundee commenced on Friday, and ended on Tuelday; when at the height, it confifted of about fix hundred rioters, from fixteen to fixty years of age, instead of a few boys, as afferted on the other fide of the House. The conduct of the magistrate was prudent and manly, and owing to that and the timely affiftance of the country gentlemen, it was quelled on the fifth day without much mischief being done. Soon after, however, appearances were such that application was made for military affistance, which was granted, and fince that time all had remained quiet. In the county of Forfar the great majority, even of the lower orders, were at all times happy and orderly, more particularly at Montrole, which the public prints had so often represented otherwise; the few who were discontented and seditious feemed to be the dregs of the people, without a fingle man of character to countenance them.

When he passed through Glasgow, he was exceedingly forry to learn that men of a higher order had volunteered in these unconstitutional focieties; men from whose situations in life and abilities he should have hoped for every exertion in favour of peace, tranquillity, and order: he was grieved to find fuch men had encouraged these doctrines of innovation, so destructive of That there may be room for improvement in our Constitution, no man could doubt, because no Constitution on earth-had ever been, or probably ever would be, perfect; but that the British Constitution, of King, Lords, and Commons, taking it exactly as it now stands, unites more benefits and bleffings to all those who have the good fortune to live under its benign influence, than any other Constitution that had ever been known, or had appeared in history, he conceived no man in his fober fenses would deny. If these Friends of the People, or rather enemies of the people, as Mr. Scott, from their practice, must term them, would maturely confider these bleffings, and at the same time view the unhappy distractions in France, where daily instances occur of the most atrocious deeds, affuredly they would fee that this particular period, of all others, was the most unfit for innovation. If, however, they would obstinately shut their eyes to all these bleffings, and continue to spread permicious doc-

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trines, to the destruction of the happiness of mankind, what punishment might they not expect? Sooner or later, perhaps, the greatest of all causes-he meant, banishment to France, whose present fluctuating Constitution they seemed so enthusiastically to admire. Mr. Scott did not fay he wished this, for the wish would be too barbarous. He next adverted to the attack made upon the Constitutional Societies, which had been so much reprobated on the other fide of the House. He declared himself belonging to feveral of them, that he had encouraged them here and recommended them in other parts of the country, as being in his opinion the most proper way to annihilate the impressions made by the seditious papers which had been circulated, and the doctrines that had been propagated. That the effects of these societies had been rapid and wonderful all his Majesty's subjects mult have felt, and none more so than those in this city. The stocks, which might be confidered as the criterion of public opinion, had fallen rapidly for about a week, but no fooner did these Constitutional Societies appear than they began to rife again gradually, and feemed now in a fair train to rife as the great prosperity of the country warranted. He then fat down, after thanking the House for the attention they had favoured him with, and apologizing for haytaken up to much of their time.

COLONEL MACLEOD faid, that he felt himself particularly called upon to trouble the House for a few minutes, as an Honourable Gentleman on the other fide, with whom he had long lived in habits of intimate friendship, but whose friendship feemed now to be in the wane, had endeavoured to do away a statement of a fact which he had made two nights before, and which fact had been often quoted in the subsequent debates. He was in the recollection of the House, that the Right Hon. Secretary, in detailing what he called the infurrections in Scotland, had laid particular stress on a circumstance said to have happened at Dundee; namely, that the mob, besides other outrages, had proceeded to the horrible and alarming length of imitating the bloody republicans of France, by planting the tree of liberty. He then had flatly contradicted the Right Honourable Gentleman, by frating the matter in its true light; that the persons who had planted the tree of liberty were boys, the eldest not above fixteen. He faid, the schoolmasters with their rods were fufficient to quell this formidable infurrection; and indeed they were the only proper troops to be employed on that duty. The Hon. Gentleman this night had not contradicted this account, because he could not, consistent with that truth and honour which certainly resided in his breast. But the Honourable

Gentleman had this night travelled from Dundee to Glasgow;

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and there he had found that Members of Parliament had joined popular and dangerous affociations; the Colonel knew he alluded to him, and he was happy in this opportunity of explaining his conduct and principles relative to these meetings to the House. He avowed that he had attended these meetings, and would do fo again; in them, though he had not found much wealth, he had found much virtue. He detelted that aristocratic pride which hindered men of rank and fortune from affociating with the middling and lower orders of the people; when discontents prevailed among them, he thought it prudent, nay, it was the duty of rich men, who had the advantage of higher education, and particularly of Members of Parliament, to mingle with the people, to hear their complaints, to foothe and conciliate their minds, to instruct them in the constitutional methods of obtaining redrefs, and to inculcate the necessity of peace and good order. This had been his conduct, and that of other respectable men, though not in Parliament, and what were the confequences? The focicties made resolutions to expel any person among them who should either riot or excite riot; and they had fent a deputation to the Lord Provoft, offering their fervices to quell disturbances, and to preserve the peace. Had the Right Hon. Secretary, and men of fortune attached to him, employed themselves in this way, they would have been more useful to their country than they had been. Another honourable and learned Gentleman had faid, that infurrections of boys might be extremely dangerous: much of the mischiefs done by Lord George Gordon's mobs were done by boys, who were afterwards executed; and Maffinello had overcome Naples by boys. This idea the Colonel treated with ridicule; if that was the cate, the House was not fafe fitting so near Westminster-school. Another Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Este) had been pleased to say, that the Gentlemen on the other fide of the House from which he spoke had held out a bait to the Dissenters; by a parity of reasoning, it was equally fair for him to say, that the ministerial men had held out a bait to the High Churchmen and Tories. But it was not true that they had offered a bait to the Diffenters; they had indeed offered most tempting baits to all the inhabitants of these kingdoms; namely, the renovation of the Constitution, the freedom of election, thort Parliaments, and the prevention of corruption. To obtain these grand objects, he said, he would always be ready to risk his fortune and his life.

A few words then passed between Mr. Gregor, Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Dundas, when, the question being put, it was negatived without a division, and the House adjourned at eleven

a'clock.

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DECEMBER 18.

Motions, pro forma, but no debates.

Mr. Pitt being re-elected for the University of Cambridge, took his feat.

DECEMBER 19.

The House in a Committee of Supply

Voted—25,000 men for the Sea Service for 1793, including 5000 Marines, at 41. per man, per month, for maintaining them.

The SPEAKER defired the attention of the House for a few moments to a subject of importance, the dispatch of public bufiness. It was his wish that a certain time for the commencement of public business should be fixed and ascertained. faid, he had confulted with feveral gentlemen, and particularly with gentlemen in official fituations, whose attention to their duties in other places rendered it not convenient for them to attend earlier than four o'clock. With the confent of the House, therefore, he should wish that hour to be the time fixed for the commencement of public business. He faid, he would attend every day punctually at three, at which hour, he hoped, gentlemen who had private business would attend also; and if the interim should, from a press of private matter, be found insufficient, he would attend at half after two, or at two o'clock; at all events he wished it to be understood, that the public business was to commence at four.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER faid he found it would be impossible for him to pledge himself always to attend at that hour; but occasions to prevent him might be very rare, and it should be his constant endeavour punctually to attend to the moment.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS presented the Treaty between Lord Cornwallis and the Allies, and Tippoo Sultaun.

Ordered to be laid on the table.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS again rose. For some years past, he said, whenever a question relative to the affairs of India had been brought forward, it had been considered as the signal for the classing of parties. In the question he had now to bring forward, he hoped to meet the unanimous concurrence of the House; for whatever might have been the difference of opinion relative to the commencement of the war, the result had been such as, he trusted, would unite the opinions of all men in favour of the Noble Lord who had conducted and concluded it. Mr. Dundas then shortly stated the extreme difficulties, and the very trying situations in which the Noble Marquis had been placed, observing that he had manifested that attention, thought, and arrangement, necessary for his extensive

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operations, which scarcely if ever had fallen to the lot of one The refult of the whole had been glorious, and particularly in furmounting that difficulty which some had confidered as impossible, viz. the supplying his immense army with provisions, in which he had been so successful, that, when near the conclusion of the business, he had counter-ordered those supplies which were on their way, finding himself possessed of more than enough for a whole campaign. He next adverted to the gallantry of the attack at night, in which he was fuccessful, and of his proceedings when the enemy was completely in his power, with moderation and temper, displaying to the world that he was not actuated by a spirit to obtain splendour for himself, but to fecure lasting advantages to his country, and to establish in India for ever a rooted veneration and respect for British valour and for British moderation. The arrangement of the British achievements had been fuch as fully to obtain the object of the war, the security of our own possessions, and of those of our allies. On this subject Mr. Secretary Dundas said he would dwell no longer, though, if he acted up to his own feelings, he declared it was a subject he could dwell on for more than a day; but what he had omitted he would leave the House to fill up to the virtues, the abilities, and fervices of the Noble Marquis, and conclude by moving,

That the thanks of this House be given to the Most Noble " Charles Marquis Cornwallis, Knight of the Most Noble "Order of the Garter, for his able, gallant, and meritorious "Conduct during the late War in India, by which an honour-

" able and advantageous Peace hath been obtained."

"The like Thanks to Major General Meadows, Major Gene-

" ral Abercrombie, and the other Officers.

Moved, " That this House doth approve of the Services of " the non-commissioned Officers and private Soldiers, both Eu-" ropean and Natives, and that the same be signified to them by

" the Commanders of the feveral Corps, who are defired to " thank them for their gallant behaviour."

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER feconded

the Motion.

GENERAL SMITH reminded the House, that he had always supported the policy and the justice of the commencement of the war, and had never doubted of that glorious fuccess with which it had been terminated. The Noble Marquis, he faid, had conducted the negociation with great moderation and wisdom; if he had not done so, the General declared he could not have brought his allies to have acted with him fo cordially in one common object. The Right Honourable Secretary had mentioned feveral difficulties under which the Noble Marquis

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had laboured, but he had not mentioned one, by no means the least, and which, as a caution in future, he would state, namely, the discussion which had taken place in that house, which had a tendency to embarrass generals in distant parts labouring for their country in the highest degree. One result of the war, by its fuccefs, and by the moderation and good faith with which it had been attended, the General faid, would be the gain of that respect by every power in India, which could not fail to secure to us a lasting peace, whereby our expences would be decreased by enabling us to reduce the number of forces formerly necessary to be kept up, which measure had already been commenced. The consequence and power of the British nation in India had never flood on that broad and firm basis on which it was now placed, fince the British nation was known in India; this, the General faid, had been occasioned by the gallant exertions of the Noble Marquis, aided by the supplies from this country, which had in no small degree contributed to the successful termination of the war. For those supplies, he declared, Administration merited the highest thanks from their country; he approved of

the Motion, and gave it his hearty concurrence.

Mr. FRANCIS declared, that if the Honourable General was right in one part of his speech, there was an end to all debate in that House upon the commencement and conduct of a war, which would be precluded until its event was known. The Honourable General had also materially changed his opinion from that which he delivered on former occasions, when he had declared that nothing short of the capture of Seringapatam, and the extirpation of Tippoo would fatisfy him. For his own part, Mr. Francis faid, he was equally ready with any Gentleman to concur in complimenting the Noble Marquis for his conduct and termination of the war, and for his unexampled perseverance in surmounting difficulties; but that was a very different question from that relative to the commencement of the war, on which he retained his former opinion, viz. that the war was neither politic nor just. The House, he said, was about also to vote by the Motion before them their approval of the peace, the articles of which had but just then been prelented, and which, by the Parliamentary regularity and order, should have been read, and known to the House, previous to their being defired to come to any fuch vote: on the face of it he admitted the peace to be honourable, the enemy was at our feet, and we had the dictation of terms, and though the peace might be advantageous, it did not follow that it was as advantageous as might have been expected; it was liable to the objection of that it did not correspond with the principles of the war, but that it might have been carried farther. diffricts might not be the best chosen; and as we had broken

peace.

peace, we might have gone farther in breaking the power of Tippoo. All acquisition of territory should have been avoided, The territory was computed to produce and a tribute taken. forty lacks annually; a direct tribute of half as much would have produced more into our treasury, and the security would have been equally good. Mr. Francis concluded with declaring,

that he concurred in the motion.

Mr. FOX faid he had twice had the misfortune to refift motions made in that House to thank the Noble Marquis. He had not done so from any antipathy to the Noble Lord, whom, though not personally acquainted with him, he highly esteemed as a virtuous and able character. He had opposed a motion of thanks for his conduct in America, and he had opposed one made last year for his able conduct in India, when no fuch conduct was known to the House. It was then with no small pleasure he understood that a motion was to be made on that day, as it gave him the happy opportunity of concurring in the unanimity of the House in thanking the Noble Marquis. He was forry that the motion was so strongly worded relative to the peace, which the House had not had an opportunity of investigating; in giving his vote therefore for the motion, he did not hold himfelf pledged to approve of every part of the peace; but by what he had feen of the Noble Lord's moderation, he confidered the peace, on the whole, to be highly honourable and eligible, and that his Lordship was highly deferving the thanks of that House.

MAJOR MAITLAND faid the motion met his complete acquiescence and approbation, notwithstanding he retained his former opinion, that the commencement of the war had been unjust and inexpedient. He was free to own, that he had never entertained an idea of the war ending fo gloriously. opposition to it had been, he said, misrepresented, and it had been imputed to him that he had cenfured the Noble Lord. This he denied; it was the measures, and not the man, he had reprobated; for however high the Noble Marquis stood in character, in the estimation of that House, and of his country for his brilliant fervices, he had formed the highest estimation of the Noble Lord, from his actual knowledge of the justice and moderation of the measures he formed upon the commencement of his go-High as his gallantry and victory before vernment in India. Seringapatam might place him in the eyes of military men, he had obtained far greater, and more lasting honour, in the sublequent victory he had obtained over himself, placing him above a General, in the rank of a good Citizen. The question before the House was not whether the peace was the most honourable and advantageous, but whether it was honourable and advanta-

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reous at all; and confidering it as perfectly fo, the motion had

his warmest approbation.

Mr. WILBERFORCE deemed it unnecessary for him to express the veneration and respect he held for the Noble Lord' who was the object of the present Motion, which he doubted not would be carried by the unanimous opinion of that House. He could not, however, avoid declaring, that honourable as the Noble Lord's conduct had been in the progress of the war, he felt it to be most honourable at the conclusion, by which the Noble Lord had shewn himself incapable of being intoxicated with unexampled fuccess. His conduct removed him from the rank of fuccessful generals, and from the vulgar lift of conquerors, and placed him higher in the estimate of every friend of humanity and virtue. He had not only conquered kings, but prejudices, and had made the British name loved and reve ed. An Honourable Gentleman had fuggested that a tribute would have been preferable to the acquisition of territory. He thought differently, for a tribute must have been insured by a continued preparation for, and dread of, war; but the fecurity for our acquifition of territory was in peace, in the love and esteem we might create in the natives for British government.

Colonel M'Leod concurred also in the motion.

The question was put and carried nemine contradicente.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS faid, that, gratified as the Noble Marquis must feel himself with the approbation of that House, he was confident that he would have that gratification confiderably decreased if their approbation was confined to him-To substantiate this affertion, he begged to read a letter from his Lordship, dated before Seringapatam, the 4th of March. 1792, in which he begged that the King might be informed, that the gallantry, courage, and discipline, of the troops had never been exceeded. The zeal and ability of General Medows in promoting the interest of his country had done honour to himelf, and had bound him under the greatest obligations, as had he zeal, activity, and attachment, of General Abercrombie. To hele words from the mouth of the Noble Marquis, he felt it unnecessary to add any thing to induce the House to adopt unaamoully the motions he had to offer to them; but he could not word faying, that if any man had existed out of those walls twelve nonths ago, capable of endeavouring to blatt the laurels of an blent general, the only punithment he wished him to receive. has the knowledge of the termination of the war, and the aving him to his own remorte. The Honourable Secretary oncluded by moving "That the thanks of this House be given Major General Medows, and to Major General Abercrombie,

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for their ate important and highly meritorious fervices in the East-Indies."

This Motion was carried nem. con. as were two other Motions of Thanks and approbation to the Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, and Private Soldiers, European and Native.

Ordered, that Mr. Speaker do transmit to Marquis Cornwallis

the faid Resolutions.

DECEMBER 20.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER moved the Order of the Day, viz.

"That leave be given to bring in a Bill, to enable His Maif jefty to reftrain the exportation of Naval Stores, and more
if effectually to prevent the exportation of Arms, Ammunition,
if &c. when prohibited by Proclamation, or order of Council."

Mr. BURKE stated that an order had some time since been given at Birmingham for a considerable quantity of daggers, which order he had that morning understood to have been renewed for an increase of 2000 or 3000 of the same murderous instruments. He hoped, therefore, that the term "arms" was meant to include all offensive weapons.

Mr. FOX conceived the expression of arms and ammunition to extend only to naval stores. He wished therefore to know

to what extent it applied in the present instance.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER referred the Honourable Gentleman to the Bill for a folution of his doubts.

Mr. SHERIDAN observed, that Gentlemen were called on to vote 9000 men more than had been done last Session; and fo far from meaning to oppose that motion, he, for one, should give it his hearty concurrence. Had a greater number of men been demanded, the measure would equally have met his approbation; fince, he thought that, if war were at all necessary, every means ought to be exerted for the purpose of preventing that worst of calamities, a protracted and lingering war. He congratulated this country, however, that war was not so probable as first appearances had given him reason to apprehend, but at the same time he must observe that those gentlemen who had afferted that we were at war with France at prefent, were as little in the fecrets of Government as they were in the interests of their country. [Here Mr. Burke caused a momentary interruption, by rifing; but observing that Mr. Sheridan had not finished his speech, he sat down again.] With regard to war, however, Mr. Sheridan faid that he was still of opinion that, it the effort were confistent with the dignity of that House, it would be necessary to prevent so unfortunate a catastrophe. He thought, however,

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however, that no conduct ought to be recommended that could possibly be construed into a threat; and he believed that an attention to that principle would prove fuccessful; fince; however, obnoxious the character of Englishmen might be rendered by an appearance of hostility, the French at present paid great refpect to the opinions of every member of this free country. They had, he allowed, carried their fentiments of liberty to an excess, but he faw that several of the leaders of the Convention abhorred the act, the apprehensions of which had excited so much indignation and difgust in that House, and he thought that some happy effects might be expected from their fense of the shock which would be peculiarly felt by those who had relied on their

justice, magnanimity, and mercy.

Mr. BURKE exclaimed, justice, magnanimity, and mercy, then, are the principles in France to which Great Britain is necessitated to appeal! The Hon. Gentleman, Mr. Burke said. had reproached him for being as little in the fecrets of government as in the interests of this country. To the first charge he could only reply, that no man, not in an official fituation, could know the fecrets of government; and the fecond, he should declare to have been an affertion unfounded and unjust. The Honourable Gentleman, he faid, had answered pretty boldly for the dispositions of the ministry in France; and if he had any information which justified that confidence, he ought to state it; if not, he was as much in the dark respecting French affairs, as he himself could be with regard to the secrets of government.— He had expressed his approbation of rigorous measures and a powerful armament; and immediately afterwards declared his withes to prevent war. On which fentiment were gentlemen to rely ?- As to himself, Mr. Burke said he was neither in the fecrets of government, nor in those of the phalanx. But he should always do his duty as a member of Parliament, in expressing his opinion on all matters before the House, and in the present instance, he should say, that he thought the progress of French arms, and French principles, highly dangerous to Europe. If the vote had therefore been larger, he should most readily have given it his concurrence.

Mr. SHERIDAN faid, a groffer mifrepresentation, accompanied with more unwarrantable language than that which had proceeded from the Right Honourable Gentleman, he had never heard within the walls of that house. The Honourable Gentleman had afferted, that he appealed to the justice, mercy, and magnanimity of France, for the fafety of the King: but he had made no fuch appeal whatever. He had faid, that if that event should take place, which at present interested the feelings of all mankind, it would peculiarly shock those who hoped for

justice, mercy, and magnanimity, from the leaders in the National Convention of France. The Honourable Gentleman had reflected on him, Mr. Sheridan said, for having answered too boldly for the dispositions of the people of France. He had done no such thing; but he had declared his reliance on the ability and virtue of the majority of the National Convention, for the rescue of the King, and at the same time expressed his detestation of many of the events which had occurred in that country. The Honourable Gentleman had confessed that he was not in the secrets of ministers; but surely he ought to have been in those secrets, when he ventured to declare, that this country was now at war with France, in contradiction to the King's Speech, which was then before the House, and his own vote of thanks upon it.

Mr. BURKE rose, and spoke a few words, declaring that the speech of the Honourable Gentleman had neither convinced

his mind, nor troubled his temper.

Mr. FOX afferted, that when his Honourable Friend spoke of the probability of that event, which interested all mankind, he entreated that he might not be mifunderstood with regard to his fentiments on the subject. He thought that the conduct of France, on the occasion of the fate of their former unfortunate Monarch, so far from evincing the slightest shadow of justice, mercy, or magnanimity, was the extreme of injustice, cruelty, and pufillanimity; and he fincerely believed and hoped, that fuch was the opinion of every inhabitant of this island. Mr. Fox declared, that if any mode could possibly be devised of collecting the unanimous opinion of that House, followed by that of all the country, for the prevention of the evil, and of conveying that opinion to France, he wished to God that mode might immediately be adopted. He particularly wished it for the interest of humanity; and he wished it, in some degree, in order that he might do away the misrepresentations of his enemies with regard to his own conduct. On the subject of the armament, he would give his hearty support to the motion for 25,000 men; and if the number had been 40,000, he would have given it with equal cordiality. He thought an armament necessary, as much as any Member of that House, but he thought that it we could, with honour, avert the calamities of war, that object ought to be pursued. The armament, however, he was convinced was necessary, whether for the purposes of war or of negociation; and whatever measures the occasion might demand, they would not meet with a more hearty supporter in that House tl an himself.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER expressed himself peculiarly happy to find that the sentiments which had

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been generally avowed on the present occasion, so much coincided with his own, and tended fo powerfully to confirm his behef in the rectitude of the measures which he had thought proper to adopt. The nature of the circumstances, indeed, were fuch as might naturally be expected to produce unanimity; and, from the moment in which that House had proved their readiness to aid his Majesty for the purpose, as well as from the nature of the business of the preceding day, he had flattered himfelf with the certainty of their concurrence in the prefent important object; nor was he shaken in that opinion by the Amendments which had been last week proposed to the Address, and which, if he had been present, he should have thought it his duty to oppose by every possible exertion. He was anxious, Mr. Pitt faid, to prove his folicitude of faving this country from the diffrace of not manifesting a defire to avert an event which, if it should unfortunately take place, would involve the conduct of a neighbouring nation in eternal abhorrence. A doubt had been flated, whether the occasion called not for a greater number of feamen; but the prefent number was not proposed as the ultimate extent. It was fufficient that it would enable ministers to do all that was necessary at this moment, and that greater exertions would be made, if the occasion should demand them.

It was asked, Whether there was ground to hope for the preservation of peace?—Peace certainly would be preserved, if it could possibly be done consistently with the honour of this country, and the security of Europe: but if that object were obtained by any other means, the preservation of peace would be With regard to the event to nominal only, and not real. which he had before alluded, as being likely to take place in france, his Majesty's Ministers would use every possible means to prevent it. As much as could have been expected had been done already, and if the same conduct were persevered in, an event might be averted, the bare probability of which must grieve the heart of every friend to justice and humanity. Honourable Gentleman had expressed a wish to know in what way the general fense of England on the subject could be conveyed to France? He, for his own part, had no objection to any way that was not inconfistent with the dignity of this country. Was it conceived that we ought to fend an Ambassador to France to state our opinion? That opinion had been already expressed by the King. Was it thought more proper that it should proceed from every man in the nation? That had been done by the avowed feelings of those who most admired the principles of the French Revolution. If it were wished to record on their Journals sentiments expressive of the horror of that House, he believed every man would agree in the adoption of such a mea-

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fure. He was anxious, Mr. Pitt said, to put any question that might be calculated for that purpose, and he thought that no mode would be easier nor more proper as a ground-work for the proceeding of that House, than to address his Majesty, humbly requesting that he would transmit to the House of Commons a copy of his instructions to his Ambassador at Paris. It was, he trusted, not impossible, in the course of the present sitting, to decide on fome measure for that purpose.

Mr. FOX faid, that the idea had come across his mind only about half an hour before he entered that House. The terms of the instructions, he confessed, he did not then clearly re-

collect.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER observed, that he should submit to the House the necessity of proceeding no further for the present, than to move

"That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, that " he will be graciously pleased to give directions that there be

" laid before this House a Copy or Extract of the Instructions " fent to Earl Gower, his Majesty's Ambassador to the Most

"Christian King, relating to his Majesty's pleasure that he hould quit Paris."

Mr. SHERIDAN deemed it proper to move to adjourn, rather than to come to a decision for which the minds of Gentlemen would be more prepared on a future day. With regard to the measure of recording the sentiments of indignation of that House on the Journals, he thought that nothing ought to be done that was calculated rather to provoke than avert the misfortune which they all dreaded. He knew not precifely, Mr. Sheridan faid, the nature of the mode adopted; or whether there was any intention of making an application to France for that purpose.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER faid, that nothing was more foreign to his idea than that of an applica-He wished that House to have the instructions before them, in order that they might thank his Majesty on the

Subject.

Mr. SHERIDAN thought that we ought not so to act as to render probable the event, by provoking the pride of France; and that no hafty or wrong measure might be adopted, he wished the House to adjourn, and that gentlemen might afterwards be able to come down with their minds better prepared.

Mr. BURKE afferted, that France was in the hands of persons who wished to affassinate the King; and, therefore, the question was, whether that House should act so as to provoke their pride to execute their flagitious purpole! Mr. Burke faid that there were two species of pride; one that

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one hat that which we ought to feel; and the other, that which belongs to the French Convention. The King and Queen, he faid, were in the hands of affaffins, who, under a juridical appearance, meant to murder them. Was the Crown of this country to fupplicate to spare-

The SPEAKER called Mr. Burke to order, as not speaking

relatively to the question.

The question was then put, and carried nemine contra-

Substance of what fell from Sir John Jarvis in behalf of poor worn-out DISABLED SEAMEN, who have been approved of as fit objects to be received into the ROYAL HOSPITAL AT GREENWICH, but who, many of them, for want of room, have been, during the fours years past, left in the most deplorable fituation.

" It must be in your recollection, Mr. Speaker, and in the recollection of many others perfons in the House, that when I gave notice on Monday of the motion I shall have the honour to submit to you this night, I declared and repeated it, that if the Admiralty had any measure in immediate contemplation for the protection and prefervation of those valuable men who had spent their best days in the service of their King and Country, I should not interfere: but their diffressed case was so urgent and pressing, that if I did not receive fatisfaction upon the fubject, I should certainly feel it my duty to agitate the question on an early day. Three Lords of the Admiralty were present, but did not say a word.] This was the language I held on Monday. I cannot fay I am in the fame disposition now, for, during the interval, the utmost industry has been used to misrepresent my motives -to describe them as a meditated attack on the Admiralty, and thereby prejudice me in the fervice to which I have the honour to belong. To this I reply, that my fole object is to obtain substantial relief and support for these brave men. So much for I will take up the time of the House a few minutes longer to state the grounds of the motion I hold in my hand, in doing which, I shall not enter into the history of Greenwich Hospital and its resources, suffice it, that they failed in the year 1788, and the Directors were disabled thereby from adding to the out-pension list; and the principal cause of this deficiency was the profusion of expence lavished on the chapel, that prepoiterous jumble of the arts, which is a monument of difgrace to the country. I do not include in this description the fine painting of the altar, which, with many other great works of the Prefident of the Royal Academy, will immortalize his fame. Nor is this the only grievance the feamen fuffer from the failure of the

the funds. I appeal to the Right Honourable Gentleman on the opposite bench, (Mr. Dundas) whether many of them are not kept out of the prize money due to them by frivolous delays and arts to defeat their claims, and whether the falutary laws and regulations the Right Honourable Gentleman has introduced for their protection, by which he has proved himself their best friend, or even the vigilance and activity of Mr. Bedingfield, can reach the evil; though, by the firmness and perseverance of that Gentleman, some of those vile caitiffs, the low agents and forgers of feamens' wills, have been brought to justice; and the rest so disheartened, that their wicked practices are nearly subdued. No part of this centure is applicable to another description of agents, for whom I entertain a great respect, and without whose affistance, on fair and liberal terms, half the officers now called upon could not make their equipment. I understand the Right Honourable Gentleman intends to bring in a bill to wrest the prize money out of the hands it is in; I am happy to perceive by his nod that I am not misinformed, and he shall have my hearty support. I will not trouble the House longer than to declare that my ill state of health prevented my bringing this matter forward in the last session; it is now, thank God, perfectly restored, and I take the first opportunity to move you,

"That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to befeech his Majesty, that he will be pleased to take into his Royal Consideration the situation of all poor, worn-out, and disabled Seamen of his Majesty's Navy, who have been or may be approved by the Commissioners of the Admiralty, as fit objects to be received into the Royal Hospital at Greenwich, and cannot therefore be admitted into the said Hospital for want of room; and that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to give directions that some certain provision may be made for their relief and support, until they can be admitted into the said Hospital, as his Majesty, in his great wisdom, shall think proper; and to assure his Majesty that this House will make good such expence as may

be incurred on that account."

Mr. HUSSEY rose to second the Motion, not from any prefumption of knowledge that he could have respecting Naval Assairs, but in consequence of the statement which he had just heard from the Officer who had spoken before him. The question, in his opinion, was, Whether the circumstances of the country were equal to the payment of 600 Seamen on the Pension List.

The Motion having been read,

Mr. PYBUS complimented the character of the Honourable Gentleman who made the Motion, but thought the Motion it-

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felf appeared calculated chiefly to obtain popularity, and ought not to have been communicated to the House without a previous application to the Royal Family. He vindicated the Board of Admiralty from the imputation of neglect; and faid, that their feelings were as acute as those of other men, and had fuffered much from the multitude of applications that were made for the relief of feamen. He hoped, therefore, that as they meant themselves to bring forward the business at a proper time, the subject would be left to their management.

Mr. COURTENAY faid, it was thameful that fix hundred feamen should be deprived of their out-pensions! He applied fome ridicule to the idea of building a church with the revenues of Greenwich Hospital, while the seamen were suffered to flarve; and thought that it was a strange thing to affirm, as the Noble Lord—he meant the Honourable Gentleman—had done, that the circumstance of men being worn out by age and infir-

mity was a matter of trivial importance.

A few words of explanation then paffed between Mr. Pybus and Mr. Courtenay.

Mr. BERKLEY objected to the Motion.

Sir JOHN JARVIS faid, in reply to some reflections on motives, I am ready to do justice to the feelings of the Commisfioners of the Admiralty, but have greatly to lament that they did not express them sooner—for I have heard no good reason given why these valuable men have been so long neglected. am totally regardless of the motives imputed to me, provided they obtain speedy relief and support, until they be received into Greenwich Hospital.

Mr. HUSSEY faid that the Honourable Gentleman who made the motion, had neither been actuated by a wish to obtain popularity, nor by a defire of inducing the House to believe that the Board of Admiralty had not the same feelings for seamen as others had. Judging, however, from what the Honourable Gentleman on the other fide of the House had faid, he hoped that they would do that which was proper on the occasion.

Sir J. JARVIS observed, that he had acted only consistently with his duty, and that there had been as much necessity for the measure two years ago, as there was at the present moment.

Mr. EDWARDS faid he should be happy to understand that the business would be taken into consideration early in the Seffion.

Mr. DUNDAS declared, that there existed no grievance that he ever heard of, which he did not wish to have remedied; and that he had, for this purpose, several particulars in contemplation, which it should be his business, as well as his duty, to bring forward.—It paffed in the negative.—Adjourned to the 24th.

DECEMBER

DECEMBER 24.

Mr. SPEAKER acquainted the House, that he had received the following letter from Major General Sir William Medows, K. B. in return to the Thanks of the House:

Mr. SPEAKER.

I am this moment favoured with your letter of the 21st instant; and as I have ever thought the approbation of my country, not only the highest honour, but the greatest possible reward, I feel most sensibly this stattering mark of it; to which if any thing could add, it would be the very obliging manner in which you appear to take such pleasure in the communication.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
with the most grateful respect,
my country's devoted, and your
obliged and obedient,

WILLIAM MEDOWS.

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London, Dec. 22, 1792.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL rose to complain of a practice which, he said, was very prevalent at this time, of paying workmen and labourers in assignats. He said that it was highly incumbent on the Legislature to adopt some measure that should stop the farther progress of the evil, and moved for leave to bring in a Bill "to prohibit the Circulation of Promissory or other Notes, Orders, Undertakings, or Obligations, for the payment of any Sum or Sums of Money, granted and iffued under and in the name of any public authority in France."

Mr. BURKE declared the impossibility, on his part, of opposing the principle of such a Bill. The circulation of French paper in this country was carried on for no other purpose than that of assisting the circulation of French principles. It was a treasonable fraud, and ought to be checked in its operation. But he expected, Mr. Burke said, so many treasonable matters, tending to the same object, to come under the cognizance of Parliament in the course of the present Session, that he thought it would be better at once to agree to take a view of all those things by a Committee of the whole House, or a Committee of Secrecy.

The Order of the Day being read for the House to resolve it-

felf into a Committee of Supply,

The SECRETARY at WAR (Sir George Yonge) flated the necessity of an augmentation to the Army of 10 men to

each Company of Horse and Foot, making in all about 6,200

men. He then moved the following Resolutions:

"That it is the opinion of this Committee, that a number of Land Forces, including 1,620 Invalids, amounting in the whole to 17,344 men, commissioned and non-commissioned Olacers included, be employed for the year 1793."

"That a Sum not exceeding 379,1741. 18s. 1.d. be granted to his Majesty for defraying the Charge of Pay, Clothing, &c.

of the faid Forces."

" 351,385l. 18, 10d, for the Forces and Garrison at Gibraltar

and a Corps of Foot in New South Wales."

"11,550l. 17s. 11d. for defraying the difference between the British and Irish Establishments of five Regiments of Foot serving at Gibraltar and the West-Indies for 1793."

" \$3231. 17s. 101d. for the pay to one Regiment of Light Dragoons, and nine Battalions of Foot in East-India, for

1793."

"117,500l. for Recruiting and Contingencies of his Majef-

ty's Land Forces, &c.

" 64001. 8s. for the Pay of the General and General Staff in Great Britain, for 1793."

" 13,940l. 8s. 11d. for Half and Full Pay to Supernumerary

Officers for 1703."

" 52,964l. 6s. 7d. to the Paymaster General, Secretary at War, Commissary General, Judge Advocate, &c."

"156,7971. 18s. 4d. for reduced Officers of Land Forces and

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to ch "2021. 1s. 8d. to the Officers and private Gentlemen of two Troops of Horse Guards and the superannuated Gentlemen of the sour Troops of Horse Guards."

" 3000l. for Officers late in the Service of the States Gene-

ral for 1793."

" 55,0921. 10s. to reduced Officers of the British American Forces for 1703."

" 4,907l. 10s. to reduced Officers of British American Forces

for 1793.

"9,313l. 6s. 3d. for Pensions to Widows of commissioned Officers for 1793."

" 177,995l. 2s. 1d. for the In and Out Pensioners of Chelsea

Hospital."

"4,500l. for New Roads, Bridges, &c. in the Highlands of North Britain for 1793."

" 278,122l. 14s. 2d. for the embodied Militia of the several

Counties in South Britain for 1793."

"That a Sum upon Account, not exceeding 72,000l. for the Z Charge

Charge of Contingencies, &c. for the embodied Militia for

That a Sum not exceeding 3201 6s. od. be granted to his Majesty for defraying the Expence of Services performed by the Office of Ordnance previous to the 31st of Dec. 1783, and not provided for by Parliament."

" 1,506l. 16s. 3d. for the Expence of the Ordnance for Land

Service, and not provided for in 1791."

" 6,8261. 15s. 4d. for the Expence of Services of the Ordnance, and not provided for by Parliament in 1792."

" 432,068l. 15s. 4d. for the Expence of the Ordnance, and not provided for by Parliament in 1791."

"That 448, 3241. 1981 od. for the Charge of the Office of Ordnance for Land Service, for 1793."

On the first Motion on the Army Estimates, That it is the

opinion of this Committee, &c.

Mr. FOX faid, that the principle upon which he gave his vote for the number of feamen for the enfuing year, namely, because he thought they might be necessary in the present state of affairs, would oblige him to give his vote to night. The cases, however, were not equally clear. With respect to the seamen voted the other night, he, as well as the other Members of that fide of the House, thought augmentation proper, and therefore the vote was given. But the case was doubtful with respect to An augmentation of the army might be necessary the army. on account of the internal state of the country; and no doubt but it was under that idea the minister had thought fit to embody the militia, and make the military preparations which we all faw. But if it was only upon the idea of internal commotions that this augmentation to the army was wanted, he ought in strictness to give it his negative, because he did not believe that any tumults or commotions were likely to happen; and therefore an augmented military force was unnecessary: and even if the fituation of this country was otherwise, the increase of the army was not the step he would recommend. These were not the reasons why he should give his vote to-night in favour of the motion made by the Secretary at War. He begged to be understood as giving his vote upon the general posture of our affairs with reference to foreign powers, and which, in his opinion, was fuch as required strength on the part of our executive government.

There were other points to which he must beg leave to call the attention of the Committee, because he thought them highly important to the military fervice, and interesting to the community at large. He knew very well that it was the prero-

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gative of the Crown to judge of the propriety of making any appointments at any time in the army; but that, like every other prerogative of the Crown, was given to the Crown for the good and benefit of the people; and therefore the exercise of it should be canvassed and examined by that House when they were voting away the money of the people. The fubject to which he wished to call the attention of the Committee was this. He had no positive knowledge upon the subject; but he had heard from general report, that several officers of high rank, and, he believed, of acknowledged military merit, as well as exemplary conduct and unblemished character, had been dismiffed the fervice. One of them was a man with whom he was related in blood, but with whom he was still more intimately connected in friendship, on account of his good conduct. meant Lord Edward Fitzgerald. Another Noble Lord's case was to be noticed; of this nobleman he knew nothing but by report, which certainly was entirely in his favour; he meant Lord Semple: these two officers had been discharged from the fervice. He did not know the grounds upon which they had been dismissed, but he had heard it was for entering into a subscription for the purpose of supporting the French against the combined armies. Now, whether that subscription was a right or a wrong measure in itself, was a question which that House should not canvals, unless there was some motion specifically to that effect before them; but of this he was fure, it was a meafure that was at all events legal, and might be infinitely meritorious. When Corfica was Nor was it at all without a precedent. about to become subject to the dominion of France, there was a general subscription in this country to affist the Corficans. There was, we all knew, the very last fummer, a general subscription to affift Poland against the infamous oppression of Ruffia. He did not think that any blame was to be attached to that act; the first municipal officer in the kingdom commenced it, and, much to the honour of the people of this country, it became very general; that it did not prove effectual was what every man with an honest heart would lament.

With respect to France, individuals had the same right to sub-scribe as we had with regard to Poland, for France at that time was in a state of perfect neutrality with regard to us, so all Europe was informed, by his Majesty's commands to Lord Gower when he was recalled from Paris, and therefore it was not criminal in any individual to affist the French. If it was not criminal in any individual to affist the French, it could not be so in any of his Majesty's officers in his service. If they did their duty as soldiers, they were not to relinquish any of their civil rights. Whatever, therefore, Ministers might think or might

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with, they should not have dismissed these Noblemen from the service. There was nothing that could be done with innocence and propriety by any one of his Majelty's subjects, that might not be done with equal innecence and propriety by any one of the officers in his Majesty's service. These were points that were not to be carelessly overlooked, because the whole fafety of the lervice might depend upon them; for while it was thought necessary that we should have a military establishment annually by paffing our Mutiny Bill, it was necessary that the officers we had should be men connected with the great landed interest of this country; that was one great fecurity we had of their attachment to the Constitution, and the fidelity of their conduct. But should it ever be generally understood, and turn out to be the practice, that in every difference of opinion between the King's Ministers and the King's officers, the latter are subject to the caprice of the former, and that an officer, the moment he enters the service, becomes a mere foldier without any civil rights, that was to fay, a mere military machine with none but military views -a foldier who had forgot that he was a citizen, there was an end at once of all the honour and all the glory which had hitherto belonged to the military service in this country. He mentioned the cases of these two noblemen only in this respect, because he had not heard of any others being in a fimilar fituation; he hoped that fuch cases would but very rarely occur, because he knew it would be very dangerous indeed to the fervice. If blame belonged to them in any part of their military conduct, furely they might be subjected to a Court-martial.—But there was another case still more remarkable, he meant the case of Captain Gawler .- See Captain Gawler's cafe, at the end of this day's debate.] After stating this case he observed, it was against all the principles of military discipline, and highly detrimental to the interest of the service, to dismiss an officer for refusing to erase his name from a fociety. It was laying a foundation for political disputes between officers in the army, and afterwards determining them by a reference to the caprice of Ministers. This was a practice very much to be avoided indeed, or it might be the death of the fervice. Why were not these points brought forward before a Court-martial? He had not the least doubt but that they might be to brought forward. He stated these things, because he really thought them subjects of grievance to the service, and would be finally detrimental to the interest of the people of this country, unless very foon and very well regulated indeed.

The SECRETARY at WAR thanked the Right Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, for the candid manner in which he had admitted the prerogative of the Crown. The right the Crown had of dismissing any of its officers, without assigning a

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reason, was a right that was not doubted, and he should not fav any thing further upon that subject. As to the Courtmartial to which the Right Honourable Gentleman had alluded he allowed that these noble Lords and the other honourable officer were certainly liable to a Court-martial, but it did not from thence by any means follow that they should not he difmilled without a Court-martial, if his Majesty should be to pleased to order. He should say no more upon this sub-

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feet to appropriate to the railing of each to Mr. FOX admitted the prerogative of the King as the Se cretary at War had infifted on it, but then he faid, he must again maintain that it was a prerogative, the exercise of which it was the privilege, it was the duty, of that House to examine. With respect to the conduct of Captain Gawler, in refusing to erafe his name from the Society alluded to, and that by the imperious orders of a number of officers, all of whom inferior to himself, except one of them, he must say, that to make that the foundation of difmission, was against all the principles of military diffinctions, against the principles of justice, and highly injunous to the fervice. When he faw a meritonous gentleman difmiffed the fervice in this way without a reason, it gave him great concern, as well for the individual as for the fervice itself. He faid again this gentleman ought to have a Court-martial, but although Ministers had not assigned a reason for dismissing these officers, he would venture to fay, what were not the reasons for dismissing these gentlemen. They did not dismiss them for want of courage or military skill. They did not dismis them for want of an honourable character-No! Caprice upon political topics was the fole reason! With regard to Lord Edward Fitzgerald, his abilities and courage had been tried; and he had acquitted himself to his honour, and to the latisfaction of the public, and to the joy of his most sanguine friends. Captain Gawler, too, had more than once fignalized himfelf in the fervice.—Mr. Fox here bore the most honourable and ample tellimony of the meritorious conduct of all these dismissed officers; and concluded with observing, that the Minister's reafons for difmissing them were such as he would not venture to affign. successful topol consul

Mr. BURKE entered into the nature of the King's prerogative to difmifs any of his officers without affigning a reason for it. It was a power wifely given to his Majesty by the Constitution, and was not to be called in question. He admitted the exercise of it might be abused, and when that was the case, that House ought to interfere; but he did not think it to in the present in-He then took notice of Mr. Fox's two points, "the probability of a war with a foreign power, in which case we

should be armed." Here he agreed with Mr. Fox; but with respect to the other part, where he said he thought "we might build on tranquillity at home," he differed from him widely, and observed, that he never knew an armament that was not appli-

cable to both.

He then took a view of the subjects of Mr. Fox's complaint. and, after arguing for some time on the principles of public policy, he thought the conduct of these officers highly improper and unconstitutional, for so appeared to him the raising of money by individuals, without the direction or confent of the King, and without the interference of Parliament, and to support a war against a power with whom we were actually in alliance. So forcibly did thefe points strike him, that when he was applied to for a subscription in Poland, he confessed that his heart was engaged in their favour; every thing that could move his affections pleaded in favour of Poland, but doubting so much on the point of propriety, he hefitated, and finally declined fubscribing. He took notice of the case of Captain Gawler; he belonged to a Society called a Society for Constitutional Information; there was no imputation upon Captain Gawler being a member of this fociety at first, because the professions of its founders were harmless; but it had long fince changed that character, and now its members held open correspondence with certain societies in France, for the express purpose of altering the Constitution of this country: a citizen of the name of Joel Barlow, another of the name of John Adams, and Citizen Frost, were engaged in this correspondence, and they had been deemed answerable; he saw no reason why one of his Majesty's officers should object to erafing his name from such a society.-Upon all these considerations, he must fay, he was not ready to blame government for what they had done. He thought that government should judge of the conduct of its military officers in its own differetion, in the same way as a jury judged of the tendency of a seditious libel; just as a jury judged of libels, so should the Crown of the conduct of its officers.

Mr. FOX explained, and observed, that as to the subscription for France, the officers in question had only followed the example of the Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Burke) in the case of the Corsicans; for he was one of the subscribers, and fo were the first and best characters in this country to these men; this the Right Honourable Gentleman did not then think unconstitutional, although he had fince discovered it to be so; but furely it was hard for an officer to be discharged for not knowing the Constitution better than Mr. Burke did 20 years ago.

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With respect to what he had hinted at as to an alliance, that was easily explained. Our alliance with the King of Prusfia was a defensive alliance; if he should be attacked, we were bound to defend him; but it never occurred to him, that we were bound to affift him in this offensive war against France, and therefore he did not fend to us for affiftance; -nor did it occur to us that we were his allies in this case, for we did not offer him affiftance. As to the Constitutional Society, it was well known that Captain Gawler never acted in it at all. Why should not a gentleman erase his name? Why? If a gentleman feels himself commanded, as it were, by those who have no authority to do fo, he is not likely to comply with the requisition, when that is the mode of making it. He must once more repeat, that thele gentlemen ought to have had a trial by Courtmartial.

Mr. BURKE faid a few words in explanation.

After which the Resolution was read and passed, and then the fum of 579, 1741. 18s. 11d. was granted to his Majesty, for defraying the charges of the Land Forces for Guards and Garri-

The feveral Resolutions followed, and the sums of money

were all voted; in the course of which

Mr. TAYLOR asked the Minister, Whether the building of Barracks was included in any of these charges? for that whenever that charge came forward, he would take the fense of the House upon it.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER faid, that it had been deemed expedient to build feveral barracks, and that charge should make a separate article among the Extra-

ordinaries.

Mr. GAWLER's Account of his Dismission from the Army is as follows :

I have to request that you will be pleased to insert the following particulars of the difmission which I lately received from my fituation in his Majesty's service, as senior Captain of the Second Regiment of Life Guards. I feel it necessary thus to state these particulars, in order to clear away all misrepresentation of my conduct. Perhaps too, from the nature of this transaction, it is a duty which I owe to the public, to make it generally known.

On Friday the 8th of December instant, Lieutenant Callard, the Adjutant of the Regiment, called upon me, and read to me the following requisition. He did not think proper to leave the requisition with me, but he was pleased to furnish me with a copy of every part of it, except the fignatures. I have not

A September of the section of the se

fince had the original requisition in my possession, but I have reason to believe that I am perfectly correct in my statement of the fignatures.

The Officers of the 2d Regiment of Life Guards, having received certain information, that Captain Gawler has been admitted a member of one of the Republican clubs, called the Society for Constitutional Information; and as it appears to them incompatible with his fituation, as holding a commission in the 2d Regiment of Life Guards, a corps immediately about the King's person; the Officers, therefore, request that Captain Gawler will withdraw his name and support from a Club whole principles are evidently republican."

Felix Buckley John Hughes, Captain George Callard, Lieutenant John Buller, Lieut.

R. Ifaac Starke, Lieut. Thomas Rainsforth, Lieut. William Manfell, Captain Gerard Goffelin, Sub-Lieut. Arthur Cuthbert, Captain A. Rous Dottin, Sub-Lieut.

All, except General Buckley, Mr. Gawler's junior officers.

Three Officers of the Regiment, Lieut. Capper, Lieut. Beresford, and Lieut. Impey, who were present at the meeting at which this requisition was signed, refused to set their names to it, conceiving it to be an unwarrantable interference of the corps upon the fubject.

On Saturday the 9th of December instant, I waited on Major General Buckley, who is the commanding officer of the regiment, and delivered to him my answer to the requisition.

After he had read the answer, he endeavoured to convince me, that prudential confiderations ought to induce me to yield to the requisition; but failing in that object, he then stated to me in substance, that my conduct, if I persisted, might materially affect the interest of the three gentlemen who had refused to fign the requisition. This suggestion alarmed me on their account, and I requested to be allowed till the Monday following to confider my answer. A few moments cool confideration, after I had quitted General Buckley, convinced me that it was not to be expected, that because those three gentlemen, in their character of judges, had happened to entertain a different opinion from their fuperior officers, that their private interest could in any manner fuffer, and, therefore, early on the morning of Sunday the 10th of December instant, I returned to General Buckley the answer which I had delivered to him the day before, and which is as follows:

"Captain Gawler having received a paper addressed to him by feveral of the officers of his regiment, requesting to withdraw

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his name and support from the Society for Constitutional Information; although he observes that such paper is signed but by part of his corps, yet he does not hesitate to give an immediate answer to the requisition contained in it.

"By the mere act of becoming a member of a fociety, expressly instituted for the purpose of Constitutional Information, he certainly does not consider himself as having departed in any degree from the character of his situation. As an officer in his Majesty's service, his duty is to defend the Constitution, as by law established, and the sole object to which he is pledged, by becoming a member of the Constitutional Society, is to promote the knowledge of that same Constitution.

"If in any particular proceeding, a fociety passes beyond the avowed principle of its union, the persons who compose the majority that decide the measure, can alone be responsible for it. It is obvious that the censure which follows such a proceeding cannot attach upon those members, who being present when it was determined, opposed themselves to it, nor upon those who, being absent, had not the means of opposition.

"Captain Gawler had not only never been present at any meeting whatever of the Constitutional Society, but has never, in any manner, given his affent or support to any resolutions adopted by that society.

adopted by that fociety.

"Upon the whole, Captain Gawler perfuades himself that those gentlemen who have signed the requisition, will not feel themselves disposed, upon farther reflection, to press their request that he should withdraw himself from the society, since with such request he cannot comply without acknowledging, what he certainly does not acknowledge—the authority of those gentlemen, under the circumstances which he has stated, to interfere with him upon the subject.

"If to belong to this fociety be in itself objectionable, Captain Gawler is informed that the objection applies to many other officers, and to many persons of rank and condition in the country.

"Captain Gawler has ever professed, and now repeats, that, so long as he remains in his Majesty's service, he shall think himself bound by his duty to shed his last drop of blood in defence of his Majesty's person and government."

On Tuesday, the 12th of December instant, the Adjutant of

the regiment delivered to me the following intimation:

"The Officers of the 2d regiment of Life Guards have received Captain Gawler's answer to their requisition; they had determined, before they applied to Captain Gawler, that the only substantial proof he could give to his principles being such as he has represented them, would be to withdraw his name and

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fupport from the fociety in question; but as Captain Gawler has not thought proper to comply with the wish of his corps, they have resolved to lay the whole transaction before the Colonel of the regiment, with their proceedings thereon."

On Saturday the 22d of December instant, I received a note and enclosure from General Buckley, of which the following are

copies:

"Major General Buckley presents his compliments to Mr. Gawler, and encloses the orders given to the 2d regiment of Life Guards by Lord Amherst this day."

Grofvenor-ftreet, Dec. 14, 1792.

Lord Amherst's orders, Dec. 14, 1792.
Parole, Lincoln.

"The King has been pleased to make the following promotion in the 2d regiment of Life Guards.

" Lieutenant Callard, Captain, vice Captain Gawler, who

is permitted to receive the price of his commission.

" Cornet and Sub-Lieutenant Goffelin, Lieutenant:"

This official notice of my dismission was the only information I received on the subject, subsequent to the intimation of the subscribing officers, that they had resolved to lay the whole transaction before the Colonel of the Regiment.

JOHN BELLENDEN GAWLER."

Staines, Dec. 22, 1792.

DECEMBER 25.

Being Christmas day, the House did not sit.

DECEMBER 26.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL brought in the Bill " to prohibit the circulation of Promissory and other Notes, Or-

"ders, Undertakings, or Obligations, for the Payment of any Sum or Sums of Money created and issued under, or in the

" name of, any Public Authority in France."

The Bill was read a first time.

Mr. TAYLOR objected to the Bill, as its prohibition of payment in Affignats implied, that the payment of Affignats had been legal; they were already illegal, and of course he could see no necessity for the present Bill. He suggested, therefore, the printing of it previous to the second reading.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL replied, that the law as

The ATTORNEY GENERAL replied, that the law as it now flood did not render the payment illegal, but the tender. The payment in Affignats was legal if accepted; but the pre-

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fent Bill went to make the payment illegal as well as the

Ordered that the Bill be read a second time to-morrow.

The Order of the day was then read for the third reading of

the Corn Indemnity Bill.

COLONEL TARLETON stated the hardships of the case of a Company of Merchants who had shipped for Exportation cargoes of Foreign Wheat, which had been afterwards by an order of Council detained. He admitted, from observations he had made, and communicated to his Majesty's Ministers, at the time he was in France, that the measures adopted for prohibiting the Exportation of Corn, were political and necessary; he hoped, however, that every reasonable indemnification might be made to individuals who had suffered by the necessities of the state.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER replied, that government were disposed to make every reasonable and just indemnification which should be required, upon fair statements

of the injustice sustained.

COLONEL TARLETON declared himself satisfied.

The Bill paffed.

Mr. TAYLOR said, that he had stated it to have been his intention to have opposed the vote for the expences of erecting barracks, whenever the army extraordinaries were moved. He had since altered his mind, but gave notice that, soon after the Christmas recess, he would make a motion for the purpose of discussing the propriety of erecting barracks in different parts of the kingdom.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER expressed his perfect readiness at any time to enter on the discussion, being consider that the House would feel with him, when the situation of the country should be taken into consideration, that the measure had been founded on the most evident public uti-

lity.

Mr. TAYLOR replied, that to his mind the measure was

wholly diffonant to the feelings of Englishmen.

The Bill, enabling his Majesty to prohibit the Exportation of Naval Stores, went through a Committee, was reported, and ordered to be ingroffed.

Mr. ROSE reported the Resolutions of the Committee of

Supply on the Army and Ordnance Estimates.

Captain BERKELEY rose for the purpose of stating the se-veral causes of excess in the Ordnance Estimates, the principal of which were the excesses in the West Indies, occasioned by the malversations of several Military, and nearly the whole of the Civil Officers—all of whom had been punished, and against

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COMMONS.

whom the Office of Ordnance was pursuing every legal means to recover the money of which the public had been defrauded. Other causes, he said, were the augmentation of the Artillery Corps; and the great increase of expence on the Ordnance Sea Service, in the course of last year, there having been furnished for that service no less than 1200 ton of guns, and a similar quantity ordered for the ensuing year. The expence of Bag-That camp the Honourable Gentleman stated to have amounted to 2600l.

The Resolutions were then read and agreed to.

DECEMBER 27.

On the Motion of the ATTORNEY GENERAL, the House resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House on the Bill to prevent the circulation of Affignats, Bonds, Promiffory Notes, &c. for the Payment of Money, and iffued under

the authority of France.

Mr. TAYLOR allowed, that if there were any Affignats in circulation, that fuch circulation ought to be suppressed: but he wished to know whether, if any foreigner, on his arrival in this metropolis, knowing nothing, as the case was likely to be, of the nature of the present Bill, with an Affignat in his pocket, was to offer it at the house of Messrs. Thellusson and Co. or any other commercial house, he would, or would not, be liable to the penalties of the Bill now before the House for circulating Affiguats?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL observed, that the general objects of complaint, under the title of Affignats, were those for 3s. 6d each, or some such trivial sums, which were now in circulation in this country. With regard to the question of his Learned and Honourable Friend, he must declare he knew not

where to draw a line of distinction.

Mr. TAYLOR faid, that, as a lawyer, he declared it to be his opinion that the case to which he alluded could not be deemed a circulation,

The Bill paffed the Committee.

The Bill to enable his Majesty to restrain the Exportation of Naval Stores, particularly Salt Petre, Arms, and Ammunition, &c. was read a third time and paffed.

DECEMBER 28.

The second reading of the Aliens Bill.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS faid he intended to move that the Bill should be committed; but he would take that opportunity to explain the motives which had induced Ministers to bring forward this measure, The Bill, he said, was founded on what

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what might be called matter of public notoriety, and its object could not be miftaken by any man, who was not a ftranger to the transactions of a neighbouring country for some time past. However, that the views of Ministers might not be liable to any mistake, he would briefly state to the House the grounds on which the Bill was framed, and the ends which it was meant to Every one knew, he faid, that of late there had been an influx of foreigners into this kingdom, infinitely greater than at any former period: this circumstance alone, unconnected with any other, would have been of fufficient importance to engage the attention of government. But it did not stand alone: for it was a matter of notoriety that this influx was occasioned by a Revolution in France, which had been attended with violent proceedings, some of which were of so atrocious a nature, that no man of common humanity would attempt to defend them. It was also well known, that of the persons who had taken refuge in England, from the troubles and confusion that prevailed in their own country, some had from choice, others from compulsion, taken a considerable part in the Revolution. Such of them as acted on that occasion, under the impulse of principles. probably did not leave those principles behind them, but brought them with them into England, and would of course continue, as far as might be, under the influence of them. This furely was a circumstance that ought not to escape the attention of a vigilant government. But this was not all; for it was also a matter of notoriety that the ruling powers in France had publicly professed doctrines, and fanctioned them by folemn decrees, which were incompatible with the peace and internal fafety of every State in Europe: for those decrees held out to the difaffected in every country, positive assurances of support, friendship, and fraternity, thus encouraging them to rife against and pull down all lawful governments, and fet up in their stead such a fystem of anarchy and confusion as at present prevailed in That those who are at the head of affairs in that country had, and have, in England, persons disposed to propagate these doctrines, and make proselytes here, was what could not be doubted by any one who did not wilfully that his eyes against conviction; and therefore it was the duty of government to be doubly vigilant against the machinations of persons of to dangerous a description, whose object was to sow the seeds of discontent and disaffection, and thereby endeavour to overturn a Constitution, which, fortunately, was too deeply rooted in the hearts and affections of the people of England to be destroyed by such means. It was the duty, however, of those who were intrusted with the public safety to be on their guard, and Parliament would no doubt arm them with powers **fufficient**

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fufficient to counteract the wicked defigns of those who would leave nothing unattempted to throw the kingdom into confusion, and make it a theatre of anarchy and lawless violence. Such were the grounds on which he maintained the present Bill. Its object was to guard the nation from danger, and fecure the pubhe tranquillity. It would be for the House to decide whether the means exceeded or fell short of that object.

It was not necessary for him, he said, to go into a detail of the clauses and provisions of the Bill; it was printed and in every gentleman's hands. He would however fay this much, that it very properly intended that a distinction should be made between those persons who had fled to this country for the sole purpose of feeking an afylum from perfecution, and fuch as had reforted to it for the wicked purpoles of seducing the people from their at-The former he believed to be tachment to the Constitution. a very meritorious and highly respectable class of men; the latter wanted not a refuge here, and their object in coming was fuch as every true Englishman must detest. It was intended therefore, that the Bill should not have any operation on such foreigners as arrived in England before the present year. With respect to such as should arrive in future, the Bill took notice of them from the moment of their landing, obliged them to give in their names, and empowered the officers of the port to take from them their arms, and the King's Ministers to fix their residence in certain districts, from which they were not to depart without leave. As to the article of arms, he made this observation, that it was not intended that fuch arms should be taken from refugees, as etiquette had made them rather an article of dress than a weapon of offence; but then it was to be reserved to Government to make the distinction, and to say who were, and who were not, entitled to the indulgence of being permitted to wear fuch arms. That was all that he had to fay on the subject of the Bill, and he was sure that reasonable men would not require more. He was aware however, that some gentlemen might call upon him to disclose the information which government had received, with respect to emissaries sent over to this country, to fow the feeds of discontent and disaffection. His answer to such a call would be, that a disclosure of this information would most probably defeat all the good which might otherwise be expected from the Bill. All he would therefore fay on this head, and he thought it his duty to fay thus much, was, that fuch emissaries had been sent into England, and that fuch a measure as the present became absolutely necessary, to enable his Majesty's Ministers to counteract their evil designs. He concluded by moving, that the Bill should be committed.

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Sir GILBERT ELLIOT faid, that in the prefent very arduous state of public affairs, it became every man to stand forward, and make an avowal of his principles and opinions. On this particular occasion, however, he observed, it was with the most fincere and heartfelt concern that he rose; a cause of no ordinary nature forced him to-struggle with personal infirmity, and request the attention of the House for a few minutes. That cause, he said, was an unfortunate difference of opinion between certain friends of his, and a Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Fox) whom it had always been, and he trusted ever would be, his ambition and his pride to call his friend. In fpeaking on this subject, he believed, he ought to go back to the close of the last Session of Parliament. At that period, and since the commencement of the present Session, his Right Honourable Friend had advanced opinions respecting the French Revolution, which he (Sir Gilbert) had often weighed and turned in his mind, to try if it were possible to reconcile them with his own. But, after the most mature and careful examination, he found them not only to be different from his, but diametrically opposite to them; to much fo, indeed, that it was impossible that, in any measures respecting France, he should be able to act with his Right Honourable Friend. He expressed a fincere hope, however, that that would not occasion any breach in that private friendship which had fo long united both; he was willing to do his Right Hon. Friend the justice to declare that he was fully persuaded that he had nothing else in view than the public good; that they both had precifely the fame object, and differed only in the means by which each thought it might be attained. Their political union was founded in honour, and perfect freedom; and he trusted that on some occasions each might take separate courles, without impairing the principle of that union, or impeaching the heart of the other.

In differing on this occasion from his Right Honourable friend, he did not stand alone; he was countenanced in his conduct by a Noble Person (the Duke of Portland) to whom, on account of his judgment, unshaken integrity, and unblemished character, the country justly looked up as her steady champion. That Noble Person, in full conviction that, at a crisis like the present, the Constitution, and the very existence of the kingdoin, was at stake, had thought proper to declare that he would give his support to his Majesty's Ministers, and to the specific measure then actually before Parliament. The example of so reat a man would be his excuse for differing from his Right Honourable Friend, and giving to the Executive Government all those powers of which they might stand in need for maintaining the Constitution, and preserving the common weal.

Viewing

Viewing the subject in so opposite a light, and thinking so highly as he did of the character of his Right Honourable Friend, he was convinced that the only way of lofing his efteem would be to attempt to gain it by a facrifice of what appeared to him to be his public duty. As to the Bill then under confideration, he would only fay this, that it should have his most hearty support; and that he was most fincerely thankful to those who had framed

and brought it forward.

Mr. FOX faid, that after what had fallen from his Honourable Friend, it was impossible for him not to wish to trouble the House with some observations. For the very flattering compliment paid to him by his Honourable Friend, and the justice which he had been pleafed to do to his motives, however he condemned his opinions, he faid he was truly grateful. At the fame time, however, he felt that he had some cause for complaint that what had this day fallen from his Honourable Friend in public; had not been previously communicated to him in private. Friendship surely might have claimed a private, previous to a public, discussion of opinions leading to the separation of men who had so long acted together on motives highly ho-

nourable, and on principles strictly constitutional.

His Honourable Friend had faid, that he could not reconcile to his own, opinions delivered by him not only in the present, but even in the last Session of Parliament. Surely, then, it was very natural for him to be furprised that his Honourable Friend had not condescended to give him any hint before this day, that he disapproved of his principles, and must cease to act with him in questions respecting the French Revolution. His Honourable Friend seemed to infinuate, that other persons, and particularly a Noble Duke whom every one justly revered, had withdrawn from him their confidence, and refolved to support the present With that Noble Person he had the honour of having been acquainted for fixteen years of his life; and of having lived with him in habits of the most strict intimacy for the last ten years, an intimacy which he trufted would last as long as life. That Noble Person, in expressing his willingness to support the prefent Bill, faid nothing that could justify what his Honourable Friend had this day infinuated; on the contrary, he expressly declared, that though he was ready to support this specific measure, he could not forget the means by which the prefent ministers had come into power, the contempt of the Conflitution which they had displayed by continuing in office in defiance of the House of Commons, and the many unwarrantable and pernicious measures which they had fince pursued.-This declaration looked like any thing rather than an affurance of general support. An occasional difference of opinion on a

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particular question, was by no means incompatible with the honourable principles on which the noble person and all his friends had acted; none of them had renounced the right of judging for themselves in particular and unforeseen cases, though they thoroughly agreed in the great outline of opposition to an administration which they conceived to have owed its formation and

present existence to a violation of the constitution.

His Hon. Friend, therefore, might give Ministers an occafional fupport, without in the smallest degree departing from the principles on which they had hitherto acted. Their private friendship, he hoped, could not be shaken by any consideration whatever; but it would depend upon one circumstance, whether they could ever act again as public men. If he found that, instead of supporting Ministers in any particular measure, which might meet his approbation, his Hon. Friend meant to give them a systematic support, all political connection between them should from that moment cease. But such a support he did not. think his Hon. Friend could possibly give Ministers, because he knew he had a great regard for consistency of character; and he had heard him declare in that House, that his opposition to them was fundamental and irreconcileable. With regard to himself, he had always acted to the best of his judgment, and for the good of his country; on the fame grounds, and for the fame end, he would continue to act with those chosen and tried friends, by whom to be supported was his greatest pride, and to whose opposition to government it was his firm belief the country was indebted for the preservation of what liberty she still re-With those he would continue to act as long as they would act with him: should they abandon him, he would most certainly feel the loss most; he would however bear it with the fortitude becoming a man; and should he be left alone, he would then confider whether he should not, as a public man, still maintain the opinions fuggested to him by his judgment and the circumstances of the times, or whether he should act at all. He had already been haraffed, he had been banished to Sinope; but hard indeed as it was that, having been banished to Sinope, he should have been denied the folitary advantages of that sterile region. Nothing should ever prevent him from faying or doing whatever he thought would be for the good of his country, except a full conviction that all he could either fay or do would be of no avail.—As to the bill then before the House, he certainly would oppose it were it to pass precisely in its present form; but as it might undergo fuch alterations in the Committee, as would would remove his principal objections, he faid he would referve himself for the report; and, should no such alterations be ad-ВЬ

mitted, he would, in that case, oppose it to the utmost of his

power.

Mr. BURKE faid, no man was lefs disposed than himself to fpeak of party; for no one who belonged to it could fpeak of it without mixing it with circumstances of private confidence, which ought to be covered with the facred veil of filence. Party was of great use in transacting public business; men conversed freely together when under the feal of honour; and business was forwarded by that private understanding, which arranged and prepared it for public discussion. The party to which allusion had been made was undoubtedly founded on the clearest principles of honour; and no man was bound by it to support any measure which his judgment or his conscience disapproved. The Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Fox) and himself had differed very widely of late on certain measures; and the former had appealed, asit were, for a proof of the propriety of his conduct to the friendship of a Noble Duke, which, he said, he had enjoyed for fixteen years. He also (Mr. Burke) could make an appeal to the same respectable and respected quarter; he had been honoured with the friendship of that noble person for twenty-feven years, during which time the closest intimacy had fubfifted between them; and he could now venture to affure the House, that though he had of late taken so different a side in politics from that of the Right Hon. Gentleman, if the Noble Duke's friendship for him was not improved, it certainly was not impaired. The Right Hon. Gentleman had no occasion to talk about being banished to Sinope; no one had ever thought of driving him from fociety: there was another indeed (meaning, himself) who had much more cause for complaint; endeavours had been made to fend him, not to Sinope, but to a city called Coventry, for having maintained opinions, which, he thanked God, were those entertained by King, Lords, and Commons, and by a decided majority of the nation. He doubted not that even were that person banished, he would, were he to live in a rub, like the Grecian Philosopher, speak his sentiments with equal freedom, either to an Alexander at the head of his army, or to the most enraged demagogue of the city of Athens. The Right Hon. Gentleman had faid, that he should know by the kind of support which his Hon. Friend (Sir G. Elliot) would give to Ministers, whether he could act with him as a public man; that if the fupport was only occasional, they might still continue to act together; but that if it was systematic, there must be an end of all political connection between them. He considered that the Hon. Gentleman, in promising to support government at this crifis, meant to support it systematically, or

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he meant nothing. Government was a system; war was a systtem; and both must of course be supported by system. give Ministers a layer of support on one day; and a layer of oppolition on another, would be to betray them into measures in the first instance, for the purpose of afterwards censuring and condemning them. In speaking on a subject of this nature, he faid, he must observe, that at a crisis like the present, he was bound to confider whether those who were actually in power, or those who were candidates for it, were most likely to promote the interest and prosperity of the country. In such a consideration it was natural for him to cast his eyes upon two Right Hon. Gentlemen (Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt) of extraordinary abilities, one of whom had twice filled the office of Secretary of State for foreign affairs; the other was actually at the head of his Majesty's government. When the country was most probably on the eve of a war, it must be allowed that such a person as was most likely to enjoy the confidence of the Crown was most fit to be a minister. [Here there was a loud cry of hear! hear! from the opposition, which was meant to convey censure on Mr. Burke for making the confidence of the Crown fo much more necessary than the confidence of the People. Mr. Burke repeated his affertion; he faid that as the conduct of war gave the Crown ten times more power than it possessed in time of peace, to it could not be exercised with due effect, unless the Crown had those for its advisers in whom it placed the greatest confidence. He observed, that, next to the confidence of the Crown, the support of the House of Commons, of the House of Lords, and of the People out of doors, was necessary to a Minister. In all these points of view, which of the two Gentlemen was most likely to enjoy in a high degree this confidence and this support? Inquestionably the Right Hon. Gentleman who was actually at office; and confequently for this very reason he was the fittest person to be at this moment intrusted with the administration of pullic affairs. He did not fay this from any partiality for him, or because he could not find other individuals to make ministers of, to whom he was personally more attached; for certainly many fuch persons could be found; but he believed none could be found, who, under the present circumstances of the times, could hipe to possess in as eminent a degree as the Right Hon. Gentlemin (Mr. Pitt) the confidence of the Crown, the Parliament, and the People. A support therefore given to him at the present crisis must be a systematic support: there was a systematic tem in every thing. Government was a lystem; so was the law of the land fo were the laws that governed the ebbing and flowing of the tide. Every man who was a minister, or wished to become on, must have a system; the system of the present B b 2 oppolition

opposition was avowedly to pull down the present Ministry: he did not mean either to approve or condemn it, but merely to state the fact. What then must be thought of an individual who should give an occasional support to a Minister, which might encourage him to adopt measures of hostility, and then fystematically oppose the system on which hostilities were declared and carried on? This led him to confider the fystem that was avowed by the Right Hon. Gentleman, and upon which he, no doubt, would act, if he should be able to overturn the present Ministry; and this also led him to advert to the situation of France. France, Mr. Burke observed, independent of any change that had taken place in the state of her affairs, or the form of her government, was from the very nature of her fituation a dangerous rival to England: many had confidered her as the natural enemy of this country; but he would speak of her only as a dangerous rival. This she was from the act of God, who had placed the two kingdoms in their prefent geographical position. In this light the was viewed by our ancestors; and this it was that regulated and governed their politics in every thing relating to the relative power of the two states. Of late indeed it had become the fashion with some people to say, that with her old government France had renounced every idea of ambition and conquest, and that the revolution which she had effected at home would establish in Europe the reign of peace, harmony, and concord, fo that this might be stilled the first year of the golden age restored. But alas! this dream was but of short duration; and it appeared that the republic of France was infinitely more ambitious, more rapacious, and felt more of the luft of power, conquest, and dominion, than the old monarchy of that country; fo that there was no ground for England to change the fystem of policy respecting France, which had been adopted in early days, and purfued down to the present period. It was that policy which prompted our ancestors to form connexions on the continent, that might enable them to restrain the formidable power of France. With this view it was that they made the old alliance with the House of Burgundy, to which formerly belonged the feventeen Provinces, which at present form the republic of the United Provinces, and the Austrian Netherlands. With these provinces, in whatever hands they were, it had been invariably the policy of England to be connected, as furnishing the means of an effectual refistance to the power of France; and for this reason we had always made it a point to prevent even the Emperor disposing of such of them as belonged tohim to any other state. Since the extinction of the House of Burgundy in the male line, and the dismemberment of its soffessions, the House of Austria had always been considered as the natural ally

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of England; because it was the only one capable of making head against the enormous power of France. During the aberrations of Joseph II. whose unaccountable disposition was not favourable to England, an alliance was formed with Prussia. It might have been prefumed, that we would have omitted nothing in our power to raise up either Austria or Prusha against France; and that our joy would have scarcely known any bounds when by a fortunate and unexpected event both of these Powers were united against that country. One might have imagined, that we should have been happy to see them recover from France a flip, or Alface and Flanders, which she had unjustly torn from the House of Austria; what then was his astonishment when he heard a great Statesman (Mr. Fox) say on a former day, that he rejoiced in the discomfiture and disgrace of the Austrian and Pruffian armies, and their inglorious retreat from France. Such joy, on fuch an occasion, he could not but condemn in the ftrongest terms; nor could he reconcile the expression of it with the interest which we ought to take in the concerns of the Emperor, who was the natural Ally of Great Britain, and of the King of Pruffia, who was fo closely connected with our Royal Family by marriage, and with the Kingdom by a recent and

subsisting Treaty of Alliance.

But it would feem, that it was not enough to rejoice in the defeat of those Princes; we ought, in the opinion of the same statesman, to have interfered and even armed, not to affift them in invading France, but actually to oppose them, and drive them out of that country; which is our great and formidable rival. With these two powers we are connected both by interest and by treaty. On this ground it was that the Right Honourable Gentleman had gone so far, as to call the victory gained by the French over the Austrians at Gemmappe, "a most glorious victory." He was ready to admit, that to France it was such; but to the rest of Europe a most calamitous event: there were some, perhaps, who confidered it a glorious victory for Freedom; for his part he deemed it a calamitous defeat to this country; for that victory had given to France the possession of the Netherlands, and the complete controul and command of the navigation of the Scheldt, the Maese, and the Rhine; left Holland entirely at her mercy; and opened a road into the heart of the German Empire. The triumph of France over the Emperor and King of Prussia, had been called the triumph of Liberty over Despots. The indecency of such a name given to Princes who are our Allies, must strike every man. That it was the triumph of liberty, he believed almost every man would deny. These Princes had not invaded France for the purposes of despotism, but merely to counteract the effects of doctrines that were levelled

velled at the peace, tranquillity, and fafety, of every State in Europe; and their manifestos affigned reasons for their conduct. than which no nation had ever published more strong or weighty. [Here there was a laugh on the opposition side of the House.] Mr. Burke infifted, that there was nothing ridiculous in the affertion; he only wished that those who laughed at his reasons would undertake to answer them. Of late it had become fashionable to call every Prince a despot; and every philosopher in a cage, whether dreffed in green or grey, was taught to make the air echo with the word. He doubted, however, whether the philosophers who so frequently used the word, were as sagacious as the parrot mentioned by Locke, who, notwithstanding the clearness of his head, had a little dash of credulity. speaking of that samous parrot of the Brasils, he quoted a dialogue which was faid to have taken place between it and Prince Maurice. When the latter asked the parrot what was its employment? it immediately answered, "I take care of the hens and chickens;" and to flew that it was as good a practical as it was a theoretical philosopher, it instantly, like a hen-wife, cried out, "Chuck, chuck!

Despotism unfortunately was to be found in Europe, but it was in free France that its chief feat was to be found; there liberty was but a found, property an empty name, and every man's house, which used to be termed his castle, was become his bastile. There all orders were confounded, the church plundered, estates arbitrarily conficated, individuals condemned, without a trial, to death or banishment; and all this was to be called " the triumph of Liberty over Despots!"-He faid he would take any country in Europe, which might be called the most despotic; he would for instance take Russia, whose government was undoubtedly the most despotic monarchy in this quarter of the world, and he would undertake to prove that, in the course of the thirty years which the present Empress had reigned, fewer acts of despotism had been done in her whole empire, than had difgraced the mere Municipality of Paris in a fingle week.

The present King of Prussia, who had been dignissed with the name of Despot, had been some years on the throne, and not one fingle act had yet been done by him which denoted despotism, tyranny, or injustice. His predecessor, the late King of Prussia, was of an auftere disposition, and came as near to the name and character of Tyrant as any man of fense, for undoubtedly a man of fense he was, and therefore could not be a tyrant; but still he had much of the appearance of it, for he was a harsh and fevere military ruler: and yet more persons had been thrown into prison in one day in France, than had during his long reign been confined in the castle of Spandau, or any other royal place

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Novem the Co of confinement. France, despising all the laws hitherto received and respected as the laws of nations, had lately published a new code, which equally set reason and justice at desiance. One principle laid down by the new Republic was, that it would consider as enemies, every people, who once freed by her from the dominion of their Sovereign, should ever capitulate with their tyrants; as they respectfully styled those sovereigns. This was a new principle in the law of nations; for it went the length of afferting, that a country once over-run by the French armies should never on any account return to its obedience to its former Sovereign. This was a principle such as the old despotism of France never prefumed to avow, and such as England and Europe never would have suffered her to carry into effect, if she

had avowed it.

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When the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was negociating, Marshal Saxe had made a complete conquest of all the Austrian Netherlands, and had even entered the Empire; and yet though Louis XV. was in a splendid career of victory, the allies infifted that he should restore to the House of Austria every foot of these provinces which he had conquered: that monarch confented to the measure, and these provinces were accordingly restored. But it seemed to be a part of the Right Honourable Gentleman's system, that because the Netherlands were at prefent in the hands of France, they should never be restored to their former Sovereign, though reason, justice, and the interest both of England and of Europe required that they should. Gentlemen did not feem to be aware of the value of the territories which were thus to be left at the mercy of France: they were the most wealthy, the best peopled, and the best conditioned in Europe. Though over-run, and entirely conquered by the Duke of Marlborough, and again in the war which ended in 1748, they foon recovered from their loffes, because they had good and free constitutions, which their masters, whoever they were for the time being, made it a point to respect. But now, when the arms of the Republic had made these provinces free, they were to be left plundered and deprived of every thing that was dear to them, of every institution which the experience of ages had proved to be wife and falutary. The old Monarchy of France acted not upon fuch principles; when Alface was conquered and ceded to her, a treaty was made by which she was bound to maintain inviolate all corporations, public bodies, privileges, and property, fuch as she found them; so that though Alface changed her Sovereign, yet the did not change her Laws or Constitution. But by the famous Decree of the 19th of November, the Republic of France had refolved to pull down the Constitution, and all public institutions in every country possessed

possessed by her armies, where the sovereignty should not be found to refide in the people !- This Decree he confidered as a Declaration of War against every power in Europe; for there was not one that was founded on this principle of "the So. vereignty of the People."-England was a complete stranger to any fuch principle; here was no Sovereign known to our laws, but the King-He was the Sovereign of the House of Lords, he was the Sovereign of the House of Commons, in Parliament affembled; he was the Sovereign of the People out of Parliament; and they were all his subjects: the two Houses, in their legislative capacity, had a concurrent authority; but it was confined to the making of laws; and in every other respect they were his liege subjects, and owed him homage and allegiance. But if the French were to land an army in England, they would immediately, by the virtue of this Article, abolish the House of Commons, the House of Lords, the corporations. colleges, franchifes, privileges, and churches, because not built on the fovereignty of the people.

Were gentlemen prepared for such a change of things? The article went further; for it declared that no man should be admitted to be an elector in the primary affemblies, who should not by oath renounce all privileges; so that the Lord Mayor of London, the companies and freemen, must by oath renounce those very privileges which they were sworn to maintain; and even this would only render them merely eligible to the second legislature, but not to the first. Having long dwelt on the various articles of this decree, which he read from a paper, Mr. Burke next adverted to the late communication respecting England, between the National Convention and Mr. Le Brun, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs. From that communication, he said, enough might be collected to vindicate ministers in framing and bringing forward the Bill then before the House; for Mr. Le Brun said that he kept many other agents in England besides the Minister

of the Republic.

Here, surely, was ground for alarm; many secret agents could not be here for good purposes; a legion of Ministers no country had ever kept in the same place for ordinary diplomatic purposes. Mr. Le Brun made it appear evident enough for what purposes they were kept; for he threatened to make an appeal from the King to the British nation; but as contradistinguished from the King, the word nation had not a meaning among us. At home the King, Lords, and Commons, represented the nation; abroad it was represented solely by the King; and whenever he spoke to foreign states, they were to consider his voice as the voice of the whole nation. In the explanation which Le Brun gave to the article promising support to all those nations

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ons hat that should require it from France, he said that it was only in case when a nation should have formed the bold resolution of shaking off the yoke of tyrants, and applied for support, that it should be given to them. This was as much as to say, that when rebellion was strong enough to shew its head, France would be ready to support it. But did France seek for such a moment? No, she had received the application of Lord Semple, Joel Barlow, John Adams, and John Frost, as the application of the people of England, and actually promised them aid and assistance. Should that assistance ever reach this country, these Peers, Commons, Aldermen, Common Council, Magistrates, Judges, all must fall before the reformers, as not deriving their

authority from " the fovereignty of the people."

Mr. Burke next adverted to the horrid system of Atheism, which, he faid, was now publicly avowed in France. prove this, he quoted several passages from a speech of one Jacob Dupont to the National Convention, in which that man had impiously and blasphemously denied the existence of God, and declared that the people would never be thoroughly ripe for the "Holy doctrines of infurrection, and opposition to tyranay," if in the primary schools the rising generation should be taught any thing about God. He concluded, that the Christian religion, being a monarchical one, preaching subjection and obedience to God, ought not to be suffered in a republic; and that all the altars raised to religion, and to the Almighty, ought to be overturned, and none fuffered to exist in France but the "altar of liberty," the facred "tree of liberty." When some murmurs were heard in the affembly, on account of this abouninable docrine, they were drowned by the loud applaufe of the majority of This daring man, Mr. Burke faid, observing the members. that some people might imagine that a priest might be useful to a man in his last moments, to administer to him spiritual consolation, denied this use; and had said, that to such people he would point out Condorcet closing the eyes of d' Alembert; in other words, one atheist closing the eyes of another. He said, that the brave Marfeilles would not have been so well qualified for the glarious deeds of the 10th of August, if they had had the weakness to believe in the existence of a God. The man who uttered these blasphemies, so far from having been disavowed by the Affembly, was appointed one of a Committee inflituted for the purpose of drawing up a plan for national education; and the only difference of opinion among the Members of the Convention was, which plan of education would be most economical, that which profcribed the existence of a God, or that which admitted it. Mr. Burke, in a strain of pathetic eloquence, dederibed the benefits which fociety in general derived from the morality founded upon the belief of the existence of God, and the comforts which an individual felt in leaving this world, in the hope of feeing and enjoying happiness with his Maker in the next. He painted, in glowing colours, the abomination of a fystem founded upon the destruction of morality, and of every thing that could bridle the paffions of man, and govern his conduct by principles of reason and virtue. He mentioned the church of St. Genevieve at Paris, one of the finest buildings in the world, which was now called the French Pantheon, because all the statues of the ancient gods and heroes of antiquity were to be taken from Rome, and deposited in that famous temple; there strangers from all quarters were to be instructed in the best mode of destroying the government and religion of their respective countries; there they were to be taught how to lead on men imperceptibly from crime to crime, from wickedness to wickedness, from murder to murder. The philosophers of old used to apply the origin of every thing to God—a Jove principium—But the modern French philosophers would begin by faying that every thing had been made by nothing; and that the idea of a God was weak, childish, and absurd, and unbecoming a true republican. For his part, Mr. Burke faid, he was determined to wage eternal war with this abominable principle, which would drive morality out of the world, and cut afunder the bonds which unite man to man, and the creatures to their Creator!

Adverting laftly to the bill immediately before the House, he faid he would give it his most cordial support, as being calculated to keep out of England those murderous Atheists, who would pull down the church and state, religion and God, morality and happiness. The extraordinary power which it would give ministers was necessary, and even proved that the people who gave it were free; for if the Crown poffeffed fuch power in time of peace, it would be too great for liberty; and if they had not more in time of war than was necessary in time of peace, they would not have enough for the public fafety. Where the Crown had its power enlarged or diminished by the people, according to times and circumstances, here the people could not be justly faid to live under despotism, but to be perfectly free. It had been faid on a former occasion that there were only nineteen persons at present in the kingdom likely to be affected by the bill; but when it was confidered that they were murderers and Atheists, the number might be faid to be very great; they exceeded by many the whole of the Royal Family, whom they might perhaps be commissioned to murder. Besides they might take apprentices to the trade of blood; and then God only could tell where their numbers would end.—The persons by whom so

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many murders were committed in France never exceeded two hundred, though their affistants and abettors amounted to many thousands; and therefore people ought not to be at their ease because we had at present only nineteen of them among us. concluded by reminding the House of the orders given for making first three thousand daggers, and then two thousand; Mr. Burke surprised the House by suddenly drawing one of them, which he held up to public view, and which he faid never could have been intended for fair and open war, but folely for murderous purposes. [Many members smiled, and some laughed.] " faid he, " to keep the French infection " It is my object," from this country; their principles from our minds, and their I vote for this bill, because I consider daggers from our hearts. it the means of having faved my life, and all our lives, from the hands of affaffins; I vote for it, because it will break the abominable fystem of the modern Pantheon, and prevent the introduction of French principles and of French daggers. When you fmile, I fee blood trickling down your face; I fee your infidious purposes; I see that the object of all your cajolling is—blood! I now warn my country to beware of those execrable philosophers, whose only object is to destroy every thing that is good here, and establish immorality and murder by precept and example.

Hic niger cst, bunc tu Romane caveto."

Mr. STANLEY (fon of Sir John Stanley) faid, that he felt himself obliged to Administration for the production of the bill now under discussion, believing, as he did, that there were in this country emissaries from France, whose motives were too suspicious to be disregarded, and their conduct too dangerous to the public peace, not to require the strictest precautions. In extraordinary cases, he observed, extraordinary measures were justifiable; and in the present instance the circumstances of the country rendered the bill before the House necessary and proper.

The bill was then read a fecond time, and ordered to be

committed.

Adjourned to December 31.

DECEMBER 31.

The Order of the Day for the House to resolve itself into a

Committee on the Alien Bill being read,

Sir PETER BURREL rose and said, he should present himfelf to the Speaker but for a short space of time. The bill before them, he observed, was one, the principle of which was supported by the necessity that gave it soundation. There was a certain number of gentlemen in that House of great talents C c 2 and and abilities, the general tenour of whose conduct he had for a long time approved of, who on the first discussion of this subject, doubted, and who still continued to think, there was very little necessity for the present Bill. He differed from them completely upon that subject, and he must further fay, that when he separated from those with whom he had acted to long, and for whom he still entertained the greatest respect, he selt it necessary to say a few words by way of public justification for the step he was now taking. He had promifed his hearty and unequivocal fupport to a Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Fox), and he trutted he was not to be censured for what he was doing now. He must, although it was not, perhaps, strictly within the limits of order, refer to what had been faid upon a former debate upon this subject—he did not mean the observations upon the Bill, but to circumftances of a peculiar nature. The integrity and honour of the Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Fox) made it unnecessary for him to allude to many of the topics which might belong to the subject. That Right Honourable Gentleman stated, that he was a little surprised that Honourable Members of that House, who had for so long a time acted with him, should leave him at once in public, without giving the least hint or notice of it in private. All that he could say on that subject was, that in a time of particular circumstances, such as the present, a man should be bound by nothing but a sense of his public duty; and as he had not had the honour to converfe with that Right Honourable Gentleman, he could not deserve cenfure on that account. He was under the description of those who, while they acted with the Right Honourable Gentleman publicly, acted according to the dictates of their conscience. Upon the principle, however, of a Bill like the prefent, where the public circumstances of the case were so plain, that they could not escape common observation, he thought a man of the most moderate abilities might form an opinion for himself. He had done so in the present case. To him the sentiments of the Right Honourable Gentleman upon the present subject were fuch as he could not come over to, or support, by any means short of an entire refignation of all his feelings and his judgment. It appeared to him that the question, in this case, was not whether we should assist Government properly, but whether we should have any Government at all; not whether we should support the present Ministry, but whether we should have any Minister, for that would be the effect of withholding support at the present instant; for if that point were to remain doubtful, the consequence would be, that, while we were grasping at the shadow, the French would be endeavouring to destroy the substance. He wished, therefore, that the House would see what the

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the real state of the question was—What was the general appearance of things which might lead us to a war, and what the cause was that would create that war if it should become unavoidable. It would be a war, if we were forced into it, we should be justified in saying, was occasioned by the French; for in truth they had already by their decrees proclaimed, that they aimed at a total extirpation of all rights and privileges; if therefore there should be a war, we knew who commenced it. He trusted we should not have a war, but he knew of nothing so likely to prevent it as the making know the true sentiments of the people of this country; and upon that, he believed in his conscience, there could not be two opinions. He would not go into a contest, if that could be honourably avoided; but he seared that might

turn out to be impossible.

He begged the indulgence of the House while he alluded to some of the new articles in the new law of nations adopted in France. He begged the House to restect on the article by which the French gave directions to their Generals. This he maintained was contrary to the spirit of all law and justice, and subversive of all order, and destructive to all property: it was a system of plunder and proscription. These sentiments, he faid, the French had shewn us they would do all they could to carry into effect. They had told a man without property he shall pay nothing, and that he shall govern every thing; and the man of property, that he shall have no power whatever, but There were other that he must submit to be plundered. truths to be collected from all this, which would occur to any man of reflection, who looked back on the affairs of France for the last two years. It was easy to conjecture at the future, by reflecting on the past. There might be fome perfons who approved of these proceedings, but he trusted that the general sense of the country was on the other fide. He faid he was extremely defirous that public confidence and tranquillity should be restored, in order to make us as nearly as possible of one mind, but not from any idea that any confidence which was formerly placed had now ceased, nor from any idea that the machinations of our enemies had ceased, or would thereby cease, but with a hope, that if we concurred unanimously, we should baffle their efforts. These things, he faid, would all contribute to that defirable end.

Sir GILBERT ELLIOTT faid, that although he was not fure he was in order, he took that opportunity to do that which, if proper to be done at all, should be done without delay. On a former occasion he expressed some things, in which he had the honour of claiming the concurrence of many, and more particularly that of a noble person (the Duke of Port-

land), in which he had no doubt he was distinctly authorised.— He was now very desirous that no error should arise from that statement. It was a particular line of conduct which he considered it his duty to follow, which he then stated, and which he

faid he would follow, if he stood alone, The opinion he expressed was precisely this:—" That it was the duty of every man, in and out of Parliament, in the present fituation of affairs, to afford the government a fair and honourable support in defending the Constitution."-That was the sentiment he expressed, and which, in his own mind, he said, he had no doubt was a fentiment in which he had the approbation of that Noble Person. This was all he expressed, or intended to express.—He understood, however, that others had underderstood him differently: what his own intentions were he knew: others knew how they understood him; but that subject ought not to be left in doubt, and therefore he had faid this to remove it. He understood also from some, that from what he had faid on that occasion, he conveyed to them an idea that the noble person alluded to had given his approbation to all the sentiments which he (Sir Gilbert) expressed that night. That was not his intention. He declared his opinion upon the subject, and he faid he would not difguise his feelings from himself, nor would he disguise them from the House; but he did not wish to fay that such were the feelings of any other person. That no doubt might remain upon that point, he begged leave to refer to what he did fay on that part of the subject also. He said that he had reflected on the opinion of the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Fox), and others who had acted with him; he faid that, comparing these with his own opinion upon the state of this country, he could not disguise from himself, that the difference was too great for him to hope for a general concurrence, while things remained in the state they were in at present. These were the fentiments which he then expressed. He did not understand that any other man in that House gave his full approbation to these fentiments. He did not intend to fay, nor did he fay, that the noble person alluded to went to the full extent of approving all he said upon that subject. He had no intention to say so. He thanked God for it. To the Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Fox), indeed, these things were of no importance, but to him (Sir Gilbert) they certainly were of moment. It was an ease to his mind to declare his opinion, and to explain this matter. Indeed the fense he had of the importance of his public duty, he would fay again, would make him speak his mind, even if he stood alone; and that duty called upon him, in his opinion, to confide in his Majesty's Ministers on this occasion, to support the Constitution. This was all he had to say at prefent. Dec fent he

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fent. If from any thing that might be faid by any other person, he should think a further explanation necessary, he hoped the

House would be pleased to indulge him with a hearing.

The MARQUIS of TITCHFIELD faid, it was with great pleasure that he had heard what had just fallen from his Honourable Friend (Sir Gilbert Elliot), who, in expressing the sentiments of others, as well as his own, did not feem to have faid any thing in which he could not readily concur. His Lordship faid, he agreed that the circumstances of the country were in the highest degree critical, and in such circumstances, those who were as little inclined to think well, of the prefent Administration as himself, might be disposed to such a conduct in some instances, as at other times they would not be inclined to pursue. His political fentiments and attachments remained the fame that they had ever been. His opinion of the gentlemen who composed the present Administration was in no respect altered. But he felt the dangers which furrounded us, and the necessity, in that case, of giving to government such support as might enable it to act with effect; a support, therefore, directed to that effect, and governed by those considerations, was that which he meant distinctly to give them. The Bill under consideration he conceived to be one of those measures, and, therefore, it should have his support. But in declaring these intentions, which, as he had already faid, were formed on his opinion of the crisis in which the country stood—a crisis which he must attribute, in a great measure, to the misconduct of the present ministers; his Lordship added, that he could not too explicitly declare, that in no other respect could he give them any share of his confidence; and that he could not too openly avow his attachment to those political principles and connections with which he had the happiness of entering into public life, and to which it was his fincere with for ever to adhere.

Sir M. W. RIDLEY paid feveral handsome compliments to the Members of Opposition for their abilities and integrity.-He observed that he had frequently acted with them, and had no doubt should again; but the reason why he supported the prelent measure was, because he thought the Country and the Constitution in some degree in danger, and he thought the prefent Bill had some provisions to protect the state. This line of conduct, on this particular measure, was totally independent of any fystem of political connection; and he felt no regret in purluing it, except that those with whom he usually acted

should not fee it in the fame light as he did,

Mr. FOX observed he should trouble the House but with a very few words. What he chiefly had to observe was on. what had been expressed by the Noble Marquis in the course of this

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this Debate. He thought it rather unnecessary to take much notice of what had been expressed on the seelings of others on a former day. The whole subject had been explained by the Noble Marquis with fo much propriety, dignity, and perspicuity, that he could not entertain a doubt upon his principles and fentiments. He had so properly come forward to state his opinion as a Member of that House (which by the way was more regular than alluding to the opinion of other perfons who were not Members) that no doubt could now remain; all that he had to fay on that subject was, that he concurred entirely with the Noble Marquis in every thing he had faid this night, except the approbation of the present Bill. There might be some explanation upon that subject in the Committee; he, therefore, only faid, that the Committee might, perhaps, be the proper stage for him to deliver his thoughts upon the subject. present, he must confess, he was not ready to give his affent to the Bill.

He was not surprised that there was a difference of opinion between the Noble Marquis and himself, upon the present Bill. They had formed different opinions on the flate of the country; the Noble Marquis had thought the country in danger, and, therefore, very properly thought that the Executive Power should be strengthened, and voted for the present Bill. He, on the contrary, was not aware of fuch danger, and faw no necesfity for the Bill; and, therefore, when the case was thus explained, it was not furprising that they differed in opinion. He then observed, that what fell from the Honourable Baronet (Sir P. Burrel) was fair and manly; and he hoped and trufted the House would do him the justice to believe, that he never had been accustomed to require any thing like an apology from any who formerly agreed, and afterwards differed from him in opinion; fuch a disposition was opposite to the whole tenour of his

The Bill now before the House must, he apprehended, be discussed on two grounds. The first was, "Whether any danger does exist in this country?"-if that was determined in the negative, there would be an end of the Bill. If in the affirmative, then, fecondly, "Whether the present Bill contains provisions for the proper remedy for such danger?" The present was not a question of general support of Administration, as had been very erroneously stated; it was, whether any thing was necesfary in the present case; and if any thing was necessary, "Whether the present Bill was adapted to the end proposed?" He was ready to fay, that if the circumstances of the time were such as Ministers described them to be, it would be necessary for him to support government, and he would support government if there

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was really danger in this country. He was always ready to support government when he thought it wanted support. As a proof of this, he had given his vote for the augmentation both of the army and navy this year. He had done that because he believed this country was threatened with external danger; but he did not believe that there was any internal danger, and therefore it was that he opposed the present Bill. If Ministers would prove the internal danger to exist, he would consider himself bound to vote for the present Bill. This was all he had at prefent to fay upon the subject before the House. He was happy, however, to have it in his power to observe, that there was no other difference in opinion between the Noble Marquis, and others with whom he acted, and himself, than that which arose from the prefent Bill; that could not make any real difference of opinion generally between those who were, and had long been, connected, not only by the fies of private friendship, but by common principles and fense of public duty.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER observed, that he believed he could fave the House some time, which was by observing, that the better way would be to pass the Bill through the Committee to-night, and receive the Report, and as the Right Honourable Gentleman's objections were to the Bill

generally, to hear them on the third reading.

COLONEL HARTLEY observed, that he had often withheld his confidence from ministers, because he saw no ground laid down for his giving it. But as he believed the country to be at this time in danger, whatever opinion he might have of Administration, he thought he could not do better than conade in them in the present case, and to give his affent to the prelent Bill. When the danger was over, the House would expect ministers to give a very good account of the whole proceedings, and if they did not fatisfy the House, proper steps could be taken to express disapprobation; but at present, under all circumitances, he was for paffing the Bill now before the House, as the best measure that could be adopted.

The House then resolved itself into a Committee, Mr.

SERJEANT WATSON in the Chair.

Mr. SHERIDAN proposed to exempt ladies from the restrictions of the Bill, which he faid would not defeat the object of it, and would shew that the age of chivalry was not gone int this country, whatever might have become of it any where

Mr. BURKE faid, that if the ladies weth'd lay afide the modern spirit of chivalry, he should have no objection; but that such ladies as attended Mr. Dumourier, and the other unbreech-

eled heroes of France, were as dangerous as any of the persons s that the Bill was meant to provide against.

The Amendment was negatived.

On the clause respecting the importation of arms or ammus lambte day hone:

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SERVINE VILLE

nition,

Mr. COURTENAY proposed to insert the word HER. They who feemed fo much in dread of ladies, a dread that furprifed him in his Right Honourable Countryman, could not but be more alarmed at the ammunition they might bring with them. -A terror had been ftruck into the whole kingdom; the Lord Mayor of London had taken the field, and orders had been iffued for recruiting the Train Bands. If his Amendment were adopted, he had no doubt but that it would contribute effentially to quiet the alarm, and perhaps raise the price of stocks ten per cent. onersily between thirds

Mr. DRAKE was offended at the Honourable Gentleman's levity, and launched into a warm declaration of his fense of the

Importance of the crisis, and his love for the people.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL admitted the propriety

of the Amendment, and it was adopted.

GENERAL SMITH, after declaring that he approved of the principle of the Bill, defired to know whether or not it was meant to deprive officers of their arms. He had a representation from three officers, who had been deprived of their arms at the Custom-House. was theren inort and

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER faid, the arms brought by Aliens into this country were not to be forfeited, but to be at the disposal of the Crown; and in all fit cases they would be returned. He should thank the Hon. General, if, in another place, he would give him the names of the officers who had applied to him.

On the passport clause, a difficulty arose about the interpretation of the words ALVEN MERCHANT; and it was agreed that it should be defined in the Bill by a clause to be added on

Morgant's

the Report:

On the clause which empowers the Secretary of State to fend

any alien out of the kingdom on fuspicion,

Mr. SHERIDAN, supported by Mr. BAKER, proposed to except all who were resident in the kingdom before January, 1702, as the fuspicions on which the Bill was founded were not faid to extend to those who had come into the kingdom before that period.

To this it was answered, that aliens who had resided in the kingdom for fome time, were the persons with whom aliens coming into the kingdom with evil deligns would most naturally

connect themselves.

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Mr. ALDERMAN WATSON faid, that alien merchants, who had been long refident in the kingdom, were, to his knowledge, among the most dangerous persons.

This gave rife to a discussion on the King's prerogative to fend aliens out of the kingdom, however long they may have

been refident in it.

Mr. MITFORD and Mr. WIGLEY feemed to confider

the prerogative as undoubted

The SOLICITOR GENERAL had no doubt of the prerogative to prevent aliens from coming into the country; the
more he confidered the prerogative to fend aliens out of the
country, the less doubt he entertained; and did he imagine that
the present Bill tended to furrender that prerogative, he would
not confent to it.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER faid, that this was a confideration of importance, and would be better de-

bated on the Report.

Several Amendments, in point of form, were made, and the Attorney General brought up feveral additional clauses. The Report was ordered to be brought up to-morrow.

Adjourned at ten o'clock.

JANUARY 1, 1793

A sufficient number of Members did not attend this day to make a House. (Forty is the number.)

JANUARY 2:

SCARCITY OF GRAIN AND FUEL.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS faid, he had to fubmit to the confideration of the House a subject of very great importance to the northern parts of Scotland, where the people were exposed to suffer considerable hardships from a scarcity of grain, and the high price of fuel; the former might be confidered in some respect as the effect of the latter; for it was well known that, during the fummer months, the hufbandmen, instead of being at liberty to attend to their tillage, were under the necesfity of employing their whole attention in procuring fuel for the winter; and from the nature of the article which was burnt in those parts (turf) a wet summer was fure to deprive the unfortunate inhabitants of one of the most necessary supplies for winter. It was not the hufbandman alone who fuffered on this occasion; every branch of manufacture, in which fire was uled, felt its share of the inconvenience ariling from a scarcity of turf, or other kind of fuel.

To guard against this, he said it was his intention to move, from after the recess, for leave to bring in a Bill to take off the D d 2

duties payable on the importation of coals into the ports nearest to the diffricts which were suffering from the want of fuel. At the same time that he wished to relieve the distresses of a large portion of very industrious people, he would not have the House think that it was his intention materially to diminish the revenue of the country; it would appear from authentic docu-ments, that the whole of the duty paid in ALL the ports of Scotland, on the importation of coals, did not exceed 10,000l. per annum; confequently, when the duty should be taken off only in some few ports, the revenue could be but very inconfiderably diminished; and he was not without a hope, that the loss which would be incurred on this occasion, might be made good by some trifling addition to the duties paid on some other articles. At all events he meant, for the prefent, that the meafure which he should propose should be only temporary; experience would thew whether it would be of pupile utility, or otherwise, to make it permanent.

When he was last in Scotland, he said he had wrote to the different Sheriffs Depute on this subject, and he wished to lay before the House the result of his enquiries as the ground-work of the Bill, which he would move for leave to bring in after the holidays. To this end he made the following motion:—" That "there be laid before this House the Copy of the Letter written by his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Home

"Depute in Scotland, respecting the state of the late Harvest, and the situation of the several Counties as to the article of

"Fuel; together with Copies of such Letters, or Extracts, as may have been received from the said Sheriffs Depute, or

other Persons, in consequence thereof,"

Mr. ADAM faid, he rose to express his most hearty concurrence in the measure which the Right Honourable Gentleman had opened to the House, because it was of the utmost importance to the people of the northern parts of Scotland, that this or some other of the same nature should be adopted for their relief. Taking off the duty on goals would, no doubt, procure them a supply of fuel on terms infinitely more moderate than those on which they were able to provide it at present, and would make the fupply more certain; but he feared it would have but little effect in guarding against the consequences of a scarcity of corn; he believed that the cause of this scarcity lay in another quarter, and would be found in a Corn Bill which paffed latt Seffion of Parliament, and which contained regulations very difcouraging to the growers of corn in Scotland, but particularly to to the farmers in a great tract of country in the north-east parts of that kingdom, where great quantities of corn were usually 3 at of the a ne trand to swill ret have ad produced

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produced, but where that article would in future be less plentifully raised, unless the terms on which grain might be imported from Ireland were revised and altered. However, the present measure, as far as it went, had his hearty approbation; and should the Right Honourable Gentleman propose to make it permanent instead of temporary, it should have his warmest support,

Mr. J. H. BROWNE observed, that having had occasion, since the establishment of the Society for the Encouragement of the Fisheries in Scotland, to visit that country, he was struck with the sight of the hardships which the people in the northern parts experienced from the united scarcity of cora and suel; and the more he lamented what he saw there, the more he was ready to support a measure which was calculated to afford the poor people relief: as he was sure that the scarcity of suel was a hardship which, from the nature of the climate of that part of Scotland, must ever exist, if not counteracted by a law co-extensive, in point of duration, with the evil; he would therefore recommend it to the Right Honourable Gentleman to make his proposed measure permanent.

The Question was here put, and the Motion passed una-

nimoufly.

To shew that the revenue arising from the importation of coals into all the ports of Scotland, did not exceed 10,000l. a year.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS next moved,

That there be laid before this House "an Account of the "amount and produce of the Duty on Coals at the different Ports in Scotland for the last three years, to the latest period to which the same can be made up, distinguishing each Port, and "each Year."

This Motion paffed without any debate,

EAST-INDIA COMPANY.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS next called the attention of the House to a subject, in every point of view, of the greatest magnitude—the state of the East-India Company with respect to their Charter. Gentlemen, said he, would recollect, that last year the Speaker had been directed to give the twelve months notice required by law, of the intention of Government to pay off the debt due by the public to the Company, and payable on the expiration of their charter. Since that time no application had been made by the Company for its renewal; though he made no doubt but an application would soon be made on that head. However, should he be mistaken in this opinion, he should consider it as his duty to the public to bring forward, soon after the recess, and lay before parliament, some proposition which should

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should, in his opinion, be calculated to preserve and promote the interests of all those who are interested in this important bufiness, Some correspondence had already taken place on the fubject between the Board of Controul, and the Directors of the Eaft-India Company; and in confequence of it, three reports had been drawn up by the felect committee of the Company's board of trade, and laid before his Majesty's ministers. These reports related to the flate of the Company's commerce as it was connected with England, with India, and with China, and were for clear and precise, that they would afford the public the best means of forming a judgment on the great question which foon must be brought under discussion respecting the Company's Charter. This question had already begun to occupy the attention of great bodies of mercantile people; he had heard of refolutions on the subject at Liverpool, Glasgow, and other places; he did not mean to give any opinion whatever on these resolutions; he did not mean either to condemn or approve them, or to fay that they were founded on true or false statements. All he wished to say at present was, that those, by whom these reso-Intions were framed and voted, had proceeded on their own view and conception of the question. The reports he had just mentioned, and which he wished to have printed, would furnish the most authentic information, and clearest evidence, on the various points connected with the commercial interests of the Company; and would enable the great trading towns of the kingdom to form a better judgment on the subject than could be expected from them without fuch aids. As to the measures which he should feel it his duty to bring forward, he would endeavour for to frame them, as to make them embrace all the various objects involved in our connexion with India. He was aware that his flender abilities were perhaps inadequate to fo great a talk; but fuch as they were he would exert them to the utmost in the difcharge of his duty.

It was his wifn that every part of the country should, with him, consider this business, as perhaps the greatest that ever came before Parliament: for in it was deeply involved the government of India, as far as it related to the civil concerns of that great empire; as far as it was connected with the revenue and manufactures of England; and as far as the prosperity or adversity of our Afiatic possessions must affect the strength, trade, and opulence of Great Britain. He trusted, that when he should bring forward his proposition for tegulating those various and complicated interests he should be able to exhibit a statement of the affairs of India, which could not but be highly pleasing to the nation: he should show that the resources of our Asiatic dominions would afford means for reducing the Company's debts both

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both abroad and at home; and that the day when England might expect aid from India was much nearer at hand than that when India should have occasion to apply to the People of England for support. Having premised these observations, he made the following motions:

" A Report from the Select Committee appointed to take into consideration the Export Trade from Great Britain to the East Indies, to the Lords of the Privy Council, dated Sep-

tember 7, 1791; and alfo,

" A Report from the faid Select Committee, relative to the Export Trade to China, to the Privy Council, dated the 20th

of Dec. 1791;" and also,

" A Report from the faid Committee to the Lords of the Privy Council, with an Appendix, relative to the Export Trade to Japan and Perfia, dated the 11th and 18th of January, 7702." The Titles were read, and the Reports ordered to be printed.

The Motion was agreed to without a word of debate. Mr. Maddox, from the India House, attended at the Bar with the Reports, for which Mr. Dundas had just moved; they were brought up and read; and on the Motion of Mr. Dundas it was ordered that a sufficient number of Copies of these Reports should be printed for the use of the Members.

MILITIA FOR SCOTLAND.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS faid, there was one point more on which he meant to trouble the House. He observed. that when the Militia of England was first embodied, many gentlemen had endeavoured to procure for Scotland a fimilar establishment, but in vain: their efforts proved ineffectual, and the Militia was confined to the fouthern part of the Island. He never was able to discover any good ground for this distinction betweeen the two great divisions, of the kingdom; for as the establishment was useful in the one, it must be equally so in the other; and to grant to one a good which was withheld from the other, was a proceeding the justice and policy of which he could not comprehend. He was refolved, therefore, for one, to make a Motion, foon after the recess, for the extension to that part of the kingdom called Scotland of that constitutional defence— Militia; which was at once the boast and the security of England thereof others a before routed have easy experts and

BILL RESPECTING ALIENS.

Mr. SERIEANT WATSON brought up the Report of the Bill respecting Aliens, and moved that the same, with the amendments, should be read ment anymous sold it has been amendments.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL faid, that the fuggestion thrown out when the Bill was in the Committee, respecting the definition of the ferm "Alien Merchants," had made him turn the matter more in his mind; and in the course of his reflections on the subject, he found it necessary to draw up many new clauses, which, though strictly conformable to the principle of the Bill, would make confiderable alterations in it. Every day convinced him more and more of the necessity of some such mea. fures as were contained in the Bill, and even furnished reasons for additional regulations. It was only within a few hours that he had learned, that within the last two or three days, 400 foreigners had landed in England, and marched up to London. How many more might be on their way he could not pretend to fay; but he was more and more convinced by this citcumstance, that Parliament was well warranted in adopting measures of prudence and precaution, which had for their object the public fafety. As it was his wish that the Bill should be as perfect as possible, and that gentlemen might have an opportunity of maturely confidering all its parts, he faid, it was his intention to move for a re-commitment; and after the Bill should have come out of the Committee, to move that it should be printed with all the new clauses and amendments. Having thus explained his intention, he moved that the Bill be re-committed.

Mr. FOX wished to know precisely on what day it was meant that the Report should be taken into consideration; for it was on the Report, and not in the Committee, that he intended

to deliver his fentiments on the Bill.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER faid, that the Bill might perhaps be printed in time for the House to take it into confideration to-morrow; but as that was a matter of uncertainty, he thought it better to fix it for Friday: and he wished to have it understood, that he intended to move also for the third reading on the same day, unless it should so happen that gentlemen, who might defire to thate their opinions on the matter, should not have time so to do on Friday (the 4th.)

The Motion for the re-commitment having passed without opposition, the Speaker left the Chair of the House, and Mr.

Serjeant Watfon took that of the Committee.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL then moved several new clauses, which were received and adopted without debate. -One clause was read, which enacted a severe penalty in cer-

Mr. FOX wished to be informed whether there was any clause for exempting from this penalty Alien Merchants?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL faid, that there was one general clause for exempting from the operation of every part of

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the Bill, all persons who came within the description of Alien Merchants; but whether the Right Hon. Gentleman would find the definition of the term "Alien Merchant" unobjectionable, in the form in which it was drawn up in a separate clause,

he could not pretend to fay.

Mr. BURKE faid he was fully perfuaded that foreign flates would be very much obliged to this country, if it would render merchants, their fubjects, liable to strict regulations; fuch a measure, he was sure, would be received by those states with great fatisfaction. As he was then on his legs, he took an opportunity to observe, that he had made it his business to inquire into the case mentioned by the Attorney General, of the four hundred foreigners, who had arrived in London within two or three days; and from the refult of his inquiries, he was happy to have it in his power to assure the Learned Gentleman, and the Committee, that this body of foreigners was not of a description to furnish any cause for alarm: this, however, he said of the body in general; for he meant not to pledge himself for individuals of a different description, who might mix with them. Every idea of strict precaution, however, he thought proper and commendable.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL thanked Mr. Burke for this information, which he believed to be very correct; but at the same time it must be said, he allowed, that as evil minded persons might mix with the most harmless and inosfensive, this very circumstance was an additional proof of the necessity of the Bill, and of such measures as would enable government to discriminate between those whose only object was to seek for an asylum in this kingdom, and others, if such there were, whose sole motive in coming to England was to plot against the peace

and tranquillity of the nation.

Mr. BURKE bowed affent to this observation.

Another clause was read, which subjects to confication the vessel from which any foreigner should be landed, against whom

the King should have issued a Proclamation.

MAJOR MAITLAND was of opinion, that in many cases this penalty might be found to be very oppressive; for menial servants might be brought over to this kingdom by their masters, of whom the captain of a ship might know nothing; and yet landing them in the train of their masters, would expose him to the loss of his vessel.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER removed the Major's objection, by faying that the confication of the veffel could not take place, except in cafe the captain should land any person described in the Proclamation issued by the King, and forbidding all captains to land in any part of his dominions

any person so described.

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Nothing was faid on the other clauses; the House was soon refumed, and at Six o'clock adjourned to the 4th.

JANUARY 4.

Mr. PITT gave notice; that in the Committee of Ways and Means, on Monday next (the 7th) he would state the amount of the surplus of the Consolidated Fund, in order that an application of it might be made by the Committee. He also suggested, that as business would probably be concluded by Tuesday next, an adjournment would take place for a fortnight from that day.

Mr. M. A. TAYLOR wished to know whether any objection would be made by the Minister to a Motion for addressing his Majesty to order an account of the different Barracks erecting in the kingdom, with the number of men intended to be lodged

in each, to be laid before the House.

Mr. PITT wished the question relative to the Barracks to be fairly discussed, and in a full House. With regard to any information that might be necessary to the discussion, it certainly was not his wish to refuse it.

Mr. TAYLOR declared, that it was not his intention to

bring the fubject before the House till after the holidays.

Mr. SHERIDAN gave notice, that immediately after the Recess, he would make a Motion relative to the Reform of the Royal Burghs in Scotland. As the subject was of a most serious nature, he wished Mr. Dundas to give as much attention to it as possible during the Holidays.

Mr. PITT wished to know how foon after the Recess the

Motion would be made.

Mr. SHERIDAN replied, within a week certainly.

Mr. PITT, speaking of the Reces, stated, that its duration was proposed at present to be only for a fortnight; for, during the continuation of it, the Executive Government might be forced to adopt measures on which it would be necessary to consult the House. If, however, no necessity for adopting such measures should exist, then the Recess would probably be for a longer period. But at all events it would not last longer than to the end of this month.

ALIEN BILL.

On the Motion for reading the Report of this Bill,

Mr. M. A. TAYLOR requested the House to indulge him with a few minutes attention. It had been stated on a former occasion, by an Honourable Friend of his, that this was a measure which all must approve; but he, for one, most highly disapproved of it: he hoped, however, that, let the imaginations of

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of Gentlemen be warmed, or their fears alarmed as they may, they would think it proper and becoming to confider calmly and quietly the important subject of the bill now before the House. He faid that, if he faw the supposed danger in the faine light with his Honourable Friend, he would, like him, be ready to give his support to the measures of the Executive Government, by giving his confidence to the Minister; he regretted the defalcation of several Gentlemen on his fide of the House at the present moment, and particularly of his Right Honourable Friend (Mr. Wyndham), whom he did not fee in his place, whose integrity and abilities were so well known and universally acknowledged; but, though that Right Honourable Gentleman, miled by the influence of fears which appeared to him totally groundless, had, for the prefent, misplaced his confidence, he was hopeful fuch difference of opinion would not be of long continuance.—The principle of the prefent Bill, Mr. Taylor faid, appeared to him of the most dangerous tendency; and, if once established, he did not well see where it was to stop, or why it might not be extended to British subjects as well as foreigners, and lead to a total-repeal of the Habeas Corpus Act, upon grounds of danger totally ideal, or at least unsupported by any evidence. We have heard indeed of riots from a Right Honourable Secretary (Dundas); but the existence of all-these riots, as applicable to the present subject, has been totally and completely disproved. Instead of riots and insurrections, for the purposes of fedition, and aiming at the destruction of the Constitution, they have been merely the outrages of a few mobs, with Church and King in their mouths. His Right Hon. Friend (Mr. Wyndham) had faid that every man who has eyes must see the danger, and every man who has ears must hear of it; but for his part, he had neither feen it nor heard of it. If fuch dangers really exist, it would be candid in Ministers to inform him of them, and to produce evidence of their existence; -if, in his present uninformed state, he should happen to err, he must lay his error at their door. It appeared to him that the present Bill violates, in its principles, the most facred rights of our Constitution, without any fufficient cause, or indeed any cause at all, to justify such violation; it violates the rights of Aliens, for Aliens have rights acknowledged and fecured to them by the laws of this country;—they have civil rights, and they have rights in criminal cases, as the having half of their Jury compoled of aliens, &cc. The present bill leaves them entirely in the power of the King, and that power may go even as far as death; which would be the certain consequence to an emigrant from France, if fent back to his own country. He faid, he never would agree to leave any man at the mercy of Ministers, without E e 2

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evidence of guilt, though he did not mean to doubt their humanity. If facts were stated to fatisfy him of the necessity, he would support the present measures of government:-but it had been faid that it would be improper to make any fuch disclosure, as it would tend to frustrate the object in view; he could by no means fee the confequence; for if, by charging any particular persons, they should leave this kingdom, we would then be equally freed from them as by the operation of the prefent Bill. But amidst all this violent and dreadful alarm, has any man been taken up, have any profecutions been brought?—no fuch thing, all is bare affertion. But even this hazard, if any fuch could be supposed, might be avoided by the appointment of a Select Committee, confishing perhaps of ten Members, five from each fide of the House; and let it be as secret a Committee as possible:if fuch a Committee were appointed, and they should report that, in their opinion, there existed in fact such a danger as is now held out to us, he faid he would certainly give his utmost support to the Executive Government; but at present his information led him to believe no fuch thing. Gentlemen have faid, the Constitution must be preserved and the country saved; this he was fure would never be done by the present Ministers, who, both in their coming into power, and in the uniform system of their measures fince, had trampled on the most valuable principles of that Constitution for which they now pretend so great an affection :- They charge all who differ with them in opinion with a wish to introduce levelling principles, and allege that they have nothing at stake; and, in a ministerial view, in the enjoyment of places and penfions, they certainly have not. 'Mr. Taylor, however, faid, that he ever had, and ever would confider that every man in the kingdom, whether he had any property or not, had a deep stake in the political government of the country. Of late, the great body of the people had been held in contempt, and of no account whatever; but the law and the conftitution of this country, and the Bill of Rights, recognise the rights of the people: our Constitution must be preserved entire; and there is no less evil to be dreaded by derogating from the rights of the people, than from those of the Aristocracy, or of the Crown.

He faid that his Honourable Friends, who had differed in opinion from him, had no doubt been actuated by the impression which the fear of supposed danger to the Conflitution had made upon their minds; at the fame time he could not help thinking it hard that they should have added to the infinuations against his Right Hon. Friend (Mr. Fox), infinuations as false as they are wicked; and as groundless as malicious!—this they undoubtedly had done, though much contrary to their own intentions. He hoped, howIONS.

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ever, that the friends with whom he had the honour to think and act, would steadily pursue that line of conduct which had hitherto distinguished them, founded in a zealous attachment to the true principles of the Constitution; he knew they were not to be terrified, and he trusted that if deprived, for the prefent, of some of those friends who had been accustomed to agree with them in political fentiments, those who remained would be the more firm and determined; the words of his Right Hon. Friend, Mr. Fox, were of sterling weight, and he was convinced would be found in the end to be of sound policy.

He deprecated the idea of a foreign war, unless totally unavoidable; and with respect to the Bill under consideration, he said, it appeared to him that it would be much wifer and better to exercise the King's Prerogative, which he was of opinion the law invested him with, in sending aliens out of the kingdom. should circumstances render such exercise of it necessary, than to have recourse to the regulations of the present Bill. Should this Bill be passed, it appeared to him that it would put an end to the King's Prerogative in that respect. For his part, he thought that neither the exercise of the Prerogative, nor the regulations of the present Bill, were necessary, and he would therefore op-

pose the Bill.

The EARL of WYCOMBE conceived the bill under confideration to be a measure liable to a vast variety of objections. His Lordship forebore, he said, to enter on the particular clauses of the bill, because he would chiefly direct his arguments against the principle of it. He faid he had ever conceived it to be of the effence of justice to have no respect of persons; but in this initance, no facts were brought forward to justify the very fevere restrictions and penalties proposed by this bill to be imposed The Noble Lord faid, it was not a measure without precedent in former periods of the history of this country; but experience had proved that the measures then adopted of a nature fimilar to the present were equally impolitic and illiberal. He owned he would rather wish that all the benefits of our Constitution should be extended to foreigners resident here. Let them have a fair trial, and if proved to be guilty, he would wish as much as any man to fee them punished. He disapproved of the principle of the present bill as unjust, leading to the most dangerous confequences as a precedent, and justified by no apparent necessity —He lamented the difference of opinion that had taken place among some of his honourable friends, and he was not ture whether the opinion which he was now to avow would be strictly conformable to any that had yet been given. As to the internal state of the kingdom, he did not say that he apprehended no danger, but he was decidedly of opinion, that there existed

no ground for any alarm, from a difaffection to the Constitution; but he was not equally free from alarm at the conduct of Ministers, in pursuing measures, as they have all along done, ruinous to the country, and putting, unnecessarily, a power into the hands of the executive government, which may be used for the most dangerous purposes.—In this opinion he knew he was not fingular, perhaps he might be more fo in the opinion he was about to deliver as to our external danger; indeed he was yet to learn that there existed any; -we were not menaced, nor were we likely to be attacked. He would not, he faid, enter into a detail of the internal fituation of France, nor trouble the house with French newspapers, or French decrees, but it appeared to him, in every view, that to engage this country in a war at prefent would be a most ruinous and impolitic measure: our adversaries have unquestionably much less to lose than we have; what could we gain by possessing ourselves of any of their West India Islands? On the contrary, the Noble Lord rather thought it would be advantageous to this country, if our own West India Islands were independent of it.—Every day made him more clearly of opinion, that there was no necessity for our going to war:- shall we, said the Noble Lord, embark in a war in defence of allies, who were not ready to go to war themselves?— Holland, he faid, feemed by no means disposed to go to war. His Lordship then adverted to the conduct of the Dutch towards Great Britain in the year 1780, and gave a variety of instances of their having given to our enemies every affiftance in their power, while they peremptorily refused to us the stipulated affistance which they were engaged to afford us. The Noble Lord concluded with faying, that till he had heard fome better argument than well turned phrases without solid reasoning, he would give his most determined opposition to measures which appeared to him in the highest degree detrimental to the public interest as well as to individuals.

LORD FIELDING faid, he had come up from the country deeply impressed with the danger arising from Jacobine emisfaries in this country; that on the first day of the session he had taken the liberty to mention to the House his sense of the danger, and to intimate a proposition which he meant to submit to their confideration, as a proper means of averting it: but having been told by a Right Honourable Secretary that a bill was preparing which would amply provide the remedy he wished, and much more effectually than the mode he proposed, he had been induced to withdraw his motion.—The Noble Lord then adverted to the intricacy and perplexity of the feveral claules of the present bill, which he said was such that two Right Hon. Gentlemen of great perspicuity and abilities had conversed in the

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Committee for a great length of time upon some of the clauses, without being able to make themselves intelligible to each other. He said, that had the exception with regard to alien merchants been allowed to stand as it originally was, it would, in his opinion, have destroyed the vital principle of the bill. He was no convert, he said, to the doctrine of considence, as on some former occasions required of that House by his Majesty's Ministers; but he thought the urgency of the present criss and the safety of the state required that considence should be placed in the executive government, and in that situation he cheerfully gave it,

trufting that it would not be abused.

LORD BEAUCHAMP faid, that the bill under confideration was a necessary link in the chain of public measures which had been found requifite in the present crisis, and was looked up to with the most anxious expectation by the public, who were much alarmed by the great influx of foreigners; an evil which, from the measures pursuing, and events happening on the continent, was daily increasing, so that this country would soon remain the only afylum for those who are obliged to see from their enemies, or who may come here from worse motives. As to the regulations of the prefent bill with respect to passports, the Noble Lord faid, they were only fuch as already prevail all over the continent, and are found of much use in point of police, and proved by experience to be attended with no degree of inconvenience to travellers; his Lordship faid, he was so much persuaded of this, that he believed he would not have hesitated in agreeing to make that part of the bill a permanent regulation, instead of a temporary one. He then adverted to the clause in the bill for limiting the residence of aliens, or sending them out of the kingdom, and flated his opinion that, if fuch a power is to be delegated to the Crown, it must be done effectually. He thought great exaggeration had been made use of in speaking of the penalty of transportation for life, proposed to be inflicted on aliens in certain cases; in fact, it was only a means of securing obedience to the orders that may be made for aliens to leave the country, &c. and was a penalty which would not be incurred by an alien, unless by the greatest possible folly. For his part, he faid, he was fatisfied that the propriety of this new and extraordinary measure was fully justified from the present danger. Some Gentlemen, his Lordship observed, exulted in the affairs: of France; but whatever was his opinion, he did not think it necessary to go into any detail on that subject. As to the realons which might lead to the propriety of avoiding a disclosure of any particular facts of which his Majesty's Ministers may be inpolletion, two very forcible ones occurred to him; first, that in cale any individuals should afterwards be brought to trial; it

would be an improper prejudication of their case; and, secondly, on the supposition that the present disaffections should be for mented by the executive council of France, it would furely be a very delicate matter at the present juncture, though it might afford subject for a manifesto, should war be once determined on.-Legislators must act on probabilities, without requiring proof; and his Lordship said he was not without suspicions that both foreign money and emissaries had been employed. - He then took notice of the letter from the Convention of France to the States of America, in which they fay, we will establish liberty all over the world, or perish in the attempt. What, said his Lordship, is the liberty here meant? Not furely true liberty; but a principle which leads to the fubversion of all order, and to deflroy that which we cannot hope to attain. May not Great Britain, among other nations, become the object of this resolution of the French Convention, which they have already been practifing in other nations, though the may probably be the last referved for the lion's last griping? This, he faid, he believed would be the case; as France knew too well the resources of this country, and the attachment of the people to the Constitution, to attempt attacking us, till they had possessed themselves of the rest of Europe: -but because our danger may be at a distance, are we therefore to overlook it? The Noble Lord faid, he thought the moderation of the British councils had done honour to the country; he approved entirely of the prefent bill, and thought the grounds nugatory on which it was attacked; at present he thought a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act not necessary, and that the provisions of the present bill would anfwer the purpose better. He could not conceive that it could be confidered as any violation of the Commercial Treaty with France, nor did he fee any thing in the objection as to its being a breach of hospitality; to those who were the proper objects of fuch hospitality, the banished clergy and nobility, it had been, and would continue to be, afforded in a way highly honourable to this country. His Lordship adverted to the proclamation of May, and faid, that that measure had met his most hearty approbation; he would act inconfiftently were he now to withhold his concurrence to measures which were only following up the principles of that proclamation. He faid, he regretted much that there should exist any difference of opinion in the House upon the prefent occasion, and he could not help disapproving of the amendment which had been proposed by his Right Hon. Friend Mr. Fox, on the opening of the fession, and of his motion for a negociation with France; because he had no doubt that, had the House been much divided, or shewn any backwardness in approving the measures of government, it would

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have led the public to apprehend that the Constitution either could not or ought not to be supported. The Noble Lord said, it was a crisis of great delicacy, and whatever might be his opinion of those who compose the present Administration, he conceived that public duty called upon him, at this moment, to give them a fair, reasonable, and honourable support; and he begged to be understood that he pledged himself to no more than

to do fo in this inflance.

MAJOR MAITLAND rose, and stated, that he thought it. his duty to oppose the bill, both because the reasons which had been affigned for its introduction were known not to have been founded on fact, and because it went to give powers to government, which, confidering the prejudices that were at prefent generally entertained against aliens, ought not to be delegated. he could be induced to believe that the danger of the country, which was so much talked of, really existed, he, for one, should have no objection to giving his support to the executive government: but he law no danger, except that which had been created by Ministers themselves, and which they wished to be generally propagated and believed, in order that, taking advantage of the ferment of the people, they might carry measures which they would not dare to bring forward at any other period. then alluded to the doctrine which had fallen from an Hon. Friend of his, in the course of a former debate, a doctrine which appeared to him most extraordinary and paradoxical! His Hon. Friend had accused Ministers of having come into power in an unconstitutional manner, and of having pursued a line of conduct, from the commencement of their administration to the present time, which had been the very cause of the present alarm and danger; yet now they had proceeded to fuch a climax of profligacy, he would finally give his vote in support of their measures. He, for his part, did not believe in any such danger; but when that rumour was at an end, he should attack its authors, and endeavour to bring them to punishment. with, before he came to speak more particularly on the subject, to notice what had fallen from a Right Hon. Gentleman [Mr. burke], but he found it would be impossible to follow him minutely through the detail of what he had faid relative to the affairs of France. That Right Hon. Gentleman had appealed uniformly to the passions, rather than the judgment; and in the course of his appeal had indulged himself in futile and contradictory affertions. He had stated the liability to change, in the National Convention, respecting all their measures: and yet he had produced a decree of the National Convention, which was liable to be altered, as a ground for entering into a war with Major Maitland declared that he could not conceive

the utility or the object of fuch a war. If fuch a war were entered into for the purpose of preventing the circulation of French principles, it would have an effect directly opposite. The troops who might be fent to France would imbibe those principles in the most pernicious degree, and bring them back again into this country. Such had been the cale with the French troops who had been fent to America, and thus it proved the cause of producing the French revolution. With regard to the present bill, it went to vest his Majesty's Ministers with powers which he should always oppose; but a view of their uniform conduct and an ill opinion of their intentions, formed in his mind an irresistible objection. When the late proclamations came out, he believed the nation at large were aftonished; but it was hoped that, at the meeting of Parliament, Government would give a latisfactory explanation of their conduct. That House had heard of no such explanation, nor had any proofs been given of the existence of the danger. With regard to the business of Parliament, -of the five infurrections which had been stated to have taken place, only one had any connexion with the French revolution, and that occurred before the last prorogation, so that it could not be urged as a plea for calling Parliament together before the term of that prorogation had expired. The Right Hon. Secretary of State had, on the first day of the feffion, thought proper to reprefent Scotland as being difaffected, but it now appeared, that fuch representation was only meant as an excuse for having summoned Parliament to meet at fourteen days notice, and having called out the militia: for the Right Hon. Secretary had a few days ago proposed to give Scotland a militia, which, confidently with his original affertion, would be putting arms into the hands of the very people from whom he entertained the greatest apprehensions. the thifts to which men were driven to answer political purposes; and hence the mifreprefentations which he had heard of an honest and loyal people! Major Maitland then afferted, that whatever alarm Ministers might have effected respecting aliens, they were themselves assiduously creating ground for that alarm, by the importation of aliens, duty free, into this country. [Here a cry of prove! prove! proceeded from the other fide of the House. I He said that he could not relate any fact precisely from his own knowledge, but he had heard, from a quarter which he felt reason to believe, that a number of foreigners had lately arrived in the Harwich packets, by means of paffports from the British Ambassador at the Hague, who had assured them of ad-

mission into this country free of any duty at the Custom-house.

Whether the fact was true, was best known to Ministers, who

had created fo much alarm on the subject. Of this alarm, what,

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Major Maitland asked, had been the consequence? Not that the prisons were crowded with foreigners, but that a reward of 100l. had been offered for apprehending an individual, Mr. Frost, who had been educated in the school of the present Minister, and who, it was understood, was shortly coming over to take his trial. As a reason for this extreme measure, a Right Hon. Gentleman [Mr. Burke] had faid, that there were nineteen affaffins in this country, who might murder his Majesty and all his family. Such a statement tended to infuse the greatest alarms into the minds of men without doors; alarms, which no person could have fuggested, except one whose imagination teemed with the most horrid pictures of massacres and murders. He thought it proper, however, to repeat that, though he opposed the bill, for the reasons which he had already stated; yet should a war commence, he would do his duty as became a subject, whether in the fenate, or in the field, and prove that those who opposed the present measure did not deserve to be charged with distaffection to government, and were as ready to facrifice their lives and fortunes for the good of their country, as those who were most

noisy in professing their attachment to the constitution.

Mr. HARDINGE said, he addressed himself to the House, not as prefuming to hope that he could add a fingle word of any importance to what the Noble Lord [Lord Beauchamp] had impressed upon those who heard him, with all the weight of his abilities and character; nor, as prefuming to hope that he could answer the animated speech of the Hon. Member [Major Maitland], who had refolved his opposition to the measure into a diflike of the minister; nor as prefuming to hope that he could anfwer that paradox of a noble Earl [Lord Wycombe] which had intimated the opinion, that "because Holland (as the Noble Earl thought) had misconducted herself to us, we should break our treaty with her;" nor as meaning to debate the expediency of peace and war-a topic not only irrelevant, but mischievous. He had rifen, impelled by the subject immediately and singly at iffue, to give, in the most unequivocal and clear manner, his own fentiments upon the necessity for such a bill, and upon the bill itself. He had once hoped, he said, that instead of the animated opposition which this bill had already encountered, and the able opposition it was likely to encounter, he should attest, in support of it here, not a bare unanimity, but the most cordial that Parliament had ever known. It was, in his view of it, a measure prompted by a just impression of an alarm and peril universally felt—and prompted as a defence, not only of the executive government for the day, but of those rights, which every ingenuous mind, whether upon this or upon that fide of the House, was in the habit of cherishing the most; the defence of Ff2

liberty and religion (to fay nothing of property and life, in comparison) against incendiaries abroad, conspiring with incendiaries at home, to destroy in one slame every order of government, eccle-siastical or civil, in our constitution. He had once hoped that opposition would come forward, as one man, at such an awful crifis of national danger, friends and auxiliaries to the executive government, without prejudice of their diflike of the Minister's conduct, or of the mode in which he was appointed, and without prejudice to their general hope of continuing together a phalanx against him; a phalanx, by the way, a little more compatt than it had been, which may be an advantage to it. He had hoped they would fay, as a party, what fome of them had faid as individuals, when they feceded from the reft; " We diflike the Minister, we like ourselves better (a very natural pre-ference); but we support the Minister to defend the country." Such were the emphatical words of a Noble Marquis fLord Titchfield], and they were to his immortal honour. He had hoped. that fuch of the party, at least, as had figured papers, confessing the existence and prevalency of opinions dangerous to the government, would confess the same fast in Parliament; that such of them as were friends of the people would be anxious to exculpate the popular character in this kingdom from the original fin of those levelling opinions, assigning it as they could, with more truth, to the imported artifice and money of the continent-that confeshing the danger, and the cause of the danger, so qualified, they would either support this bill, or suggest a wifer and a better. In all these hopes he had been cruelly disappointed; and he was timid enough, animated as the loyalty of affociators had been, to lament, as a disadvantage to the public interest, a Right Hon. Gentleman's [Mr. Fox] persevering opposition to this indispensable measure. That as to the bill, if it bad a fault, as he thought it had, it was the fault of inadequacy, not excels, in the powers given to the executive government—that he had in the Committee entered his protest against the exception of alien merchants, from the power to send mischievous aliens out of the kingdom, and had been fortunate enough to fee that exception If quarantine was thought expedient upon the apprehenfion of plague, before the suspected vessel could land her goods if by the law of nations we can fend even a fhip in diffres by cannon from the shore, when plague infects her cargo, how infinitely more expedient is the fafeguard of this bill against the most infernal pestilence that ever scourged the human race—the faith and profession of anarchy, not apprehended, but known to be imported every day from the continent? Was he to be challeng ed here, as in a court of justice, with two important little words, in that scene of action, but ridiculous here? To the words

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" prove it," he would answer, first, that it was not a juridical, but brudential subject; next, that it would, or might be dangerous, to go into the detail, perhaps impracticable, from the nature of the subject; but most of all he would answer, that it was a hold and rath contumely upon the fense of the whole kingdom, to call in question the fact of disaffection, which a people so enlightened had believed, and had refulted with fuch a mass of patriotism and public spirit. He would therefore say, upon these

grounds, I will not prove it.

He then stated, in a few words, the power given by the Bill. and faid, he would follow it up against those who could alone be the objects of it, in order to see what power it gave the Mimilter to oppress the innocent. If the Bill should operate with restraint and punishment upon the emissuries of Atheism and Sedition, it would fall where it should. If it should punish, or difcover and exclude, the leveller in principle, who was an incendiary at heart, it would fall where it should; whether it found him with or without a dagger in his hand, with or without French money, or French paper in his pocket, it would find him at least with French principles in his heart - principles of rebellion against all government—and principles, not of a fecret indifference, but an avowed and boafted contempt for every oath of allegiance in the world. If the name of an emigrant should be the mask of an emissary and a leveller, this act would pull it off, and would eatch the emissary or the leveller again. If it should be the case of an emigrant here, from the emigrants abroad; from the Emigrant Army, for example, he confidered fuch an Alien as the just object of suspicion, because if he was negociating his reinstatement in France, it would be a temptation to make profelytes here as a merit and plea to urge at Paris. If it should be the cale of an Emigrant and Refugee, from the defolations and cruel-He had come to us ties of Paris, that emigrant was our friend, for shelter and mercy; he had come to us, appealing to our government by Law, against a government by the Sword; he had merited our sympathy, and we had given him unequivocal proofs of it. Without compliment to the Minister, could it be imagined that he would be so mad as to go out of his way in shaking, by the oppression of such an alien, that centre of union which incorporated the public interest, and the public opinion, and formed his own?

The only other class that remained was the indifferent Alien, the bye-flander, who took no part in the conflict, but was blameless, and, as an Alien, was entitled by that character alone to our hospitable reception. That a Minister could oppress him; that he could oppress an Alien Merchant, for the take of oppressing him, and with no possible temptation of interest, he confessed

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and thinking all discretionary powers dangerous, he lamented it: but it was a necessary evil, because, without an indefinite power over Aliens of all descriptions, the mischievous could never be separated from the good. He said, the Report of M. Le Brun. read the other night, would of itself, in his opinion, justify this Bill. That Minister had stated, in the National Convention. "that Paris employed political agents here, not accredited by " are;" and he adds a direct menace to appeal from what he affelis to call "the Palace," and "the Minister," (but knowing it well to be the fense of Parliament) ad populum, by which he means the lowest classes of the mob. This Report was the fignol of rebellion to the difaffected here, and the Bill would act with a falutary effect in averting that mischief. The Libels of the day would of themselves justify this Bill. They were French to the bone, in connection as, well as principle, and they had forred far above the vulgar flights of English republicanism. They had given birth to doctrines upon the fubject of public Libel, which he made no scruple to condemn as at once ignorant and mischievous; for example, that intention proyed the Libel, instead of the Libel proving the intention, and that all opinions upon government were "free," that is, free, in the fense of legal impunity, after publication, " let the seditions ten-

" dency of fuch opinions be ever fo apparent."

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The most eminent Republican of his day, who wrote when England was a Commonwealth, and who wrote in the defence of unlicensed printing, a most able as well as eloquent compofition, had very different ideas of a feditious Libel. He meant our immortal poet, Milton, from whose poetical prose, in a part of that work, a fanciful and brilliant passage had been quoted the first night of the Session. He would quote him; and he wished the earnest attention of the House :- " In every Church and Commonwealth, (be was not enlightened enough to disclaim the alliance of Church and State) it is of the greatest concemment for Magistrates to look vigilantly how books demean themfelves, as well as men-to imprison them-to execute sharp justice upon them as malefactors: for books are not absolutely dead things, but they have a potency of life in them, to be as active as that foul was whose progeny they are—nay, they contain in a phial the pureft extract and efficacy of that intellect which gave them birth. They are as lively and as vigorously productive as the fabulous dragen's teeth; and fown here and there, may foring up armed men." It was against those arms and those men that he thanked the Bill for providing him with a defence. He had afferted in the Committee his individual opinion, which he took deave to affert again; " that his Majesty had by law the right of lending Aliens out of the kingdom for the public fafety?" began shall be tell

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But he commended the Bill for not afferting that right, on the one hand, or disclaiming it on the other. If the King bad not the right, this Bill was necessary to confer it upon him, for a time and for the purpose delineated in the Act itself. If he bad the hight, still it was a discretion which the Legislature could, with more advantage to the public, direct, and apply-that in confulting Parliament upon the necessity which made the habitual exercise of this right expedient, with a reference to objects of national importance, the Minister had acted with confummate wildom, as well as delicacy, if he thought the right strictly vefted in the King. Upon these grounds he declared himself firm and zealous friend of the Bill.

The EARL of WYCOMBE role to explain, and faid that he meant not to express that we ought to pay no respect to treaties, by which we were bound; but that in case the French should over-run Holland, as they had done Brabant, he thought we ought not to confider these treaties as binding on us to embark in

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a war with France.

Mr. JENKINSON observed, that the declaration of the Minister explained at once all the objections which could be made to this Bill on the ground that no hostility had been offered on the part of France to the Government of this country. The declaration of the French Minister, lately in the National Convention, was of itself an answer to every thing that could be faid in that respect; for it expressed hostility to all Monarchy, and specifically to this country, when the Nation and the Sove-

reign were treated diffinctly.

第二人工作的第一个作品的对应的 This was not the only reason why such a Bill as the present was a necessary measure; for it was well known, that libels of the most dangerous tendency, directly hostile to our Constitution, and under the direction of French emissaries, were industhoully circulated in this country; these were so evident in their tendency, that it was impossible to mistake them. To these emissaries were to be added a certain Society, who called themfelves a Society for Constitutional Information. He should avoid entering into a minute detail of the proceedings of this Society—he should content himself with adverting to a few particulars. They professed, he said, by a public advertisement, to hold open correspondence with certain Societies in France, and they had recommended to their Corresponding Societies in England the perufal of Mr. Paine's book. It was not his intention to lay any thing harsh of that book; he should only lay of it what the book faid for itself. It was not a book written with a view to reform any abuses that some may think required to be reformed; but it was a book written avowedly to overturn the Constitution altogether. Those, therefore, who circulated such

a book could not have any wishes for a reformation, but must aim at an overthrow of our Constitution; for this Society must e allowed to have adopted the principles in that book, by eneavouring to circulate it. This appeared to him to be highly mischievous; for by the circulation of such books the lower chaffes of fociety were made discontented with government, and might consequently become bad subjects. Such books in generat, from their nature, must make a considerable impression upon the minds of the lower orders of fociety, by teaching them to look for a better condition after the present system shall have been overturned: by their education their minds were not capable of perceiving the delutive nature of these visionary theories; and by their habits they were not much used to reflection, and therefore were easily led to expect a better fituation in life, without once thinking it was possible it might be a great evil: they suffied forward in hopes of good, as a filly adventurer in a lottery stakes his last guinea, in hopes of sharing of the capital prize; and above all, these were persons who, from not having property or stake in the country, were, or would be, eager in adventure, and had nothing to check them; to fuch persons he observed such books were dangerous. Men habituated to thinking and reflecting, would of course detect the fallacy, the affumed reasoning in this book; this was of itself a reason for the passing of the present Bill, because it was a measure that would tend to diminish the influence of these French emissaries, and the influence of French councils.

Another reason appeared to him for the carrying of this meafure. It was well known what was the nature of the directions given by the National Convention of France to all their generals, and what was the conduct of these generals acting under these directions, particularly the conduct of General Dumourier, the whole of which was a fystem to propagate principles and doctrines by the fword; and that when the French had fucceeded in every other place, it would proceed to the conversion of the people of England in the fame way. When he confidered all these things, he did say he was warranted in declaring that any step that tended to the diminution of the French influence in this country was prudent; and he faid he considered himself as having shewn the danger of that influence, so as to make Le measure applicable. He alleged also, that it was the intention of the French to kindle the flame of civil war in this country; and that they had got a great way towards making the lower order of fociety discontented, and that the meeting of Parliament was intended to extinguish that spirit of dislassection. He believed that the calling out of the militia, too, rended to exsinguish that spirit; he believed the debates in that House, and

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and the the general concurrence of opinion expressed in it, tended also to extinguish that spirit. He believed likewise, that the Bill now before the House would tend to extinguish that spirit, by driving the most active persons in sowing the seeds of sedition out of this country.

He then took notice of the power which the present Bill would give to the Ministry, and maintained it would be only fuch as would be wanted; and followed the thought of Sir Gilbert Elliot, expressed on a former day, who faid that the granting of power, by the deliberative to the executive power of the State, in cases of extraordinary emergency, was a proof of freedom; and added, that he faw no reason for supposing that Minifters would make any improper use of their power, for they would not have the least temptation to do so; and that even if they should, they would be responsible to that House, as in all cases of power abused.—He distinguished between the culpable and the innocent Emigrants, who were at prefent in this country: the one would remain under the protection of government, and the objectionable ones would be removed; this would disper the alarm among the people, for they would know that government either had removed them, or, having the power, would remove them, as the fafety of the country required. And as to the innocent emigrants, he had reason to know that many of them were men of exalted characters and disposition: they had given proof of it, they had borne their difficulties and advertity with fortitude; and if the hour should arrive; which he anxiously hoped and wished it would, when those great men should be reflored to their ranks and possessions in their own country, he had no doubt but their moderation in prosperity would equal their fortitude in distress and that amount to make request that

As to the provision of the present Bill, he was of opinion that there was no more force given to Government than was necessary for the fafety of the State. It had indeed been faid, that this was equal to a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act; sindeed he law nothing very extraordinary in that observation taken in its full extent, for when the state of the country required it that Act of Parliament had been suspended. It had been so fix or leven times in modern periods of our history; even almost immediately after our revolution, it was suspended by the very men who brought about that revolution, and they were highly applauded for the measure; but the matter of doubt which he had upon this subject was, whether or not it infringed upon the prerogative of the Crown, for he had heard it advanced in that House, and he had read it in the works of a great lawyer (Mr. Justice Blackstone), that the King had an undoubted right to order any alien to depart this realm of his own will and pleafure—this was one of the prerogatives of the King of Great Britain, and therefore the only doubt which could be entertained with respect to this Bill was, whether it would not, or might not, hereafter be quoted as a precedent, that the King had not that power, or this Bill would not have been granted it to him; however that might be, he did not believe that, in general, the Gentlemen who were the most adverse to this Bill would not be the more

disposed to object to it on that account.

He had heard it mentioned, that the fituation in which this country was at this time, and which this Bill was intended to remedy, was brought upon this country by the prefent Ministry. By way of answer to this, he begged to ask in his turn of these Gentlemen, whether they really believed, that if what they complained of in the year 1784, about the Minister's coming into power unconstitutionally—he asked, he said, whether if that had not happened, the affairs of France might have been in the fame fituation as they were in at present. He believed they would; why then it was the French revolution, and not the unconflitutional conduct of Ministers, which had brought on this country the calamities which now hung over us: and therefore he could not fee how that could have any thing to do with the question now before the House. He then took notice of the progress of French principles, and from thence urged the propriety of our doing all we could to stop them in this country, and of the propriety of all Europe endeavouring at the fame thing, for that the French, unless they met with some timely check, would fpread their pernicious principles over the whole globe. He confidered the prefent bill as a flep to check them, and therefore it should have his concurrence; for whether there was danger within or without, this measure appeared to him to be necessary. He considered himself to have proved that there was danger within, and that the Parliament must allow Ministers to act with some discretion upon this measure. Upon these grounds, he gave his approbation to the present bill.

Mr. GREY, after stating many difficulties, which from the nature of the subject he had to encounter with; and after obviating all the surprise which some Gentlemen on the other side of the House expressed at seeing so much difference of opinion upon his side of it, proceeded to the discussion of the subject in debate. He observed, that he regarded this bill as defective in principle, as it was objectionable in practice; forming, as it did, part only of a system which the present Minister had almost invariably, since his coming into office, and since the commencement of the present Session, without one exception, pursued with regard to that House, and the public. He must still look upon the principle upon which he was called upon to act. The

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Parliament was called together in a new, and in an extraordinary manner. Some Gentlemen faid it met the unanimous confent of the country—in this he believed they were right; for the people at that time had been taught to believe that the country was in a state of great danger, and therefore they thought the House met upon extraordinary circumstances. The truth of which Ministers proved only by faying it was fo. Some Gentlemen, indeed, faid, that as to the infurrections in the country they were so notorious, that it was needless to point them out. Upon these general, loose, and vague grounds Parliament was called upon to act. Parliament was called upon to give its approbation of the conduct of the Minister, and to place in him implicit confidence, without one point of proof of any one of the affertions upon which the confidence was demanded. They were called upon for an armament in this vote; they were almost, but not quite, unanimous; however, they had voted for the armament, because they thought the country ought to be put into a state of defence previous to any step being taken by Government; and because they thought that this measure was likely to prefent the bleffings of peace to this country; in this, they only followed the King's Speech, who gave Parliament affurances of his defire to that effect. These were the grounds on which he and many others voted for this armament; but was that the ground on which a Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Burke) had given his confent? He faid, he did not give his confent to an armament for the purpole of treating with the French, but for the purpose of bringing us into immediate and immortal war, and he (Mr. Grey) was afraid, he faid, that the Right Honourable Gentleman was not fingular in that opinion, if the House could be justified in reasoning as these Gentlemen reafoned; and when he reflected on the applause which the Right Honourable Gentleman received, he was afraid there were many others of opinion, that the ground stated by Ministers was not the real ground for the armament. Mr. Grey faid, he wished to put it to his Majesty's Ministers, and to ask them one question, "Did they arm to negociate, or to go to war?" If the Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Burke) was right upon the ground on which he confented to the armament, then let the Ministry come forward and avow it. If not, what would they fay to the people for mifleading them, and plunging the country into a war without affigning any reason whatever for it. Ministers, he said, were called upon to declare, before Parliament separated for the holidays, what was the real state of this country. Pursuing the same lystem of affected insurrections, and voting armaments, without knowing any thing of the cause in which they were to be employed, and liftening to the affertions of the Minister, was Gg 2

not the duty of that House; and yet the Minister now called upon them to vote for a bill which was to give to the Executive Government extraordinary powers, without the least proof being before them of the necessity of the measure; the whole was to be done by confidence, in the old way. Mr. Grey here took notice of the distinction of free states voting extraordinary power in times of extraordinary danger, and those states, the executive part of which always having power enough, without the affishance of a deliberative Assembly; these might, he faid, be justly faid to be despotic. The former was certainly the characteristic of a free government, but there was another characteristic of a free government, and it was the chief excellence of our Constitution, it was this-The Executive Power was never to judge of the necessity of that power, it was always the province of the Legislative to form its opinion upon that subject; and, therefore, when any power was to be given to the Crown in cases of emergency, it must be given by Parliament. It had been so in the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and so it ought to be upon this; these points were necessary for the safety of the British Constitution, and the happiness of the people; but none of these measures should take place, but upon proper evidence laid before Parliament of their necessity. This brought him to reflect on the present case a little more closely; the result of which was still more unfavourable to the present measure, for if they were wrong in giving their confidence to the Minister at first without a cause assigned, how much more so should they be when they came to give their confent to a measure utterly irreconcileable with the principle of the Constitution, and the proper practice of Parliament, upon a plan which might utterly ruin the country, and upon a measure too, in which, from its very nature, it was impossible for the House to have any responfible person to refer to, in case the subject should require investigation hereafter, for that would be the case in the present Bill. An Honourable and Learned Gentlemen had faid, that we had a right to drive away a ship to sea from the coast, and perhaps expose her to future destruction, provided we thought that the plague was on board of her; that we had a right to infift on her performing quarantine, in order that we might be fafe; and that fuch was, in some degree, the nature of this Bill. He wished to know whether they meant to carry that doctrine to its full extent, for, in that case, no proof would ever be wanted; bare furmife would always be enough for proceeding at any time to the utmost extremity. But, indeed, Mr. Grey said, to keep up the figure, if the plague was to come to this country from France, he believed it was much less likely to come by persons than by writings: the former cargo were under the regulation of

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the present Bill, the latter were not; indeed, he faid, every one point that had been stated in favour of the Bill, failed altogether; there was nothing stated that went in the least degree to prove the necessity of the Bill. Much, Mr. Grey said, had been urged upon a fubject not directly before the House, but as it had been introduced, he felt himfelf in some degree bound to take notice of it; he meant the tendency of the book of Mr. Paine, and also the proceedings of the Constitutional Society. If these were the grounds for the Bill now before the House, he was afraid the personal confidence in the Minister would be totally an act of necessity; but as this subject was now before them, he would fay what he thought upon it; he must then declare, that he was not a friend to Mr. Paine's book, nor to the proceedings of the Conflitutional Society, and he had no reason to believe that his principles were approved by them, any more than theirs were by him; and he must add, that he agreed with the answer given by an Honourable Friend of his, who corresponded as one of the friends of the people with that fociety,—that Honourable Gentleman, on learning that the Constitutional Society had been industrious in recommending the perusal of Mr. Paine's book, had withdrawn his name from the committee of correspondence with that fociety, observing that he was a member of a lociety who were Friends to the Constitution of this country, and therefore could hold no farther correspondence with those who recommended a book, in which it was stated that this country had no Constitution. So much for general observations upon Mr. Paine's book, and the proceedings of the Conflitutional Society. He now came to observations made on the Bill by the Honourable Gentleman who spoke last; he had faid, that whether there was danger within or without, this Bill was necessary: What was the conclusion to be drawn from this? Why nothing more or less, than that whenever we go to war we may be said to be in danger, and therefore fuch a bill will in future always be already foliou to prevent them from doing neceffary.

We were told, as he had observed, that there were correspondences between societies in this country, and societies in France. What if that was the case? Would this Bill prevent such correspondence in suture? most certainly not.—But this was like all the other measures of the present Administration, sounded on delusion and vague affertion, and on which the House were called upon, from day to day, to vote in a general and blind way, according to the will of the Minister, without one point of information, and even upon the facts that were stated, the Minister's Friends did not agree, of which he had a recent instance.—An Honourable and Learned Gentleman (the Attorney General) had stated, that within three days, foreigners had arrived in

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this country, and had marched up to London, and these men were such characters that some provision should, on that account, be made in the Bill.——No! said the Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Burke), they are most of them of a particularly innocent description; and yet, with this difference of opinion among the most sanguine friends of the Bill, this was made one of the grounds for passing it as a matter of necessity; that was, we were to charge all the whole country with disaffection, and to alarm it with danger; and a number of persons were to be under the mercy of the Ministry, in order that comparatively very sew should be guarded against, whose principles the Ministry did not like. Mr. Grey wanted it to be stated fairly, what was the reason of passing this Bill; and he wished to know how it was that we were to define the innocent from the culpable

emigrant?

Mr. Grey faid, he was as far as any man from wishing to blame the charity that had been extended to these unhappy perfons; on the contrary, he applauded that charity, but at the fame time he wished that there should be some point by which they were to be selected from others much better than the will or caprice of any Minister; but as the case now stood, it was impossible to make a proper selection. He had been told, he faid, had it not been for the care of Ministers, these foreigners would have proved mischievous to this country. What did this imply, but that the Ministers knew who these persons were; and that with regard to them nothing was to be dreaded: if that was the case, there could be no occasion for the present Bill, as far as it regarded them, and the preamble of the Bill could not be true, for in one part it flated, " and whereas, under the prefent circumstances, much danger may arise to the public tranquillity from the refort and residence of Aliens, unless due provision may be made in respect thereof." What danger, Mr. Grey asked, could arise to the public tranquillity, if care had been already taken to prevent them from doing mischief?-He must observe, that if this compliment to Ministers for their vigilance be true, the preamble of the Bill must be false; and the preamble ought to be, "Whereas a number of foreigners, whose principles are dangerous to the safety of this State, may come into this country, &c." This would be a much more fafe and candid statement than that in the Bill at present.

Another consideration he had on this bill made him still more unwilling to assent to it; he meant the leaving all the execution, without any controul, to the will of the Minister. Gentlemen asked what temptation had Ministers to act amiss in such cases? What temptation, God knows. He did not suspect them of wishing for tyrannical power to be exercised cruelly on any man, at the

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fame time it must be allowed to be against all principles of justice, to subject any man in this country to the will of any other man, because he might be ruined by the prejudice of the person in whose power he was. Besides, cases might occur that would be very hard indeed: there might be those who were friends originally to the Revolution, and who wished to see the ancient desposisin destroyed, and who, nevertheless, were friends to a limited Monarchy, and yet these men might be driven by this Bill into another country, perhaps back again to France, where inevitably they must suffer death. When he knew the force of prejudice in that respect, he was still the more unwilling that any man should be put under the power, and at the will of a Minister.

For instance, he wished the House to suppose the case of Mr. La Fayette, and suppose that the Ministers were disposed to treat him rigorously, could they not fend him to Prussia, and would he not then be confined in a dungeon at Magdebourg or Weeffel, where he might be kept for life? or might not any feverity be imposed upon him, if left to the disposition of the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Burke), for no man in that House would go as far as him, or agree with him in opinion. There was another man (Bureau de Puzy) whose case deserved to be noticed. This unfortunate gentleman had been three times Prefident of the National Assembly in France, and was remarkable for his attachment to Monarchy: these sentiments sent him from France, and he was now a prisoner at Magdebourg or Weeffel; such was the treatment which not even the friends of limited Monarchy, but the enemies of Despotism, met with in these tyrannic States. -This confirmed him in the opinion which he had long entertained, that it was a good thing for Europe, that the combination against France did not succeed in their endeavours to conquer the French.

Upon all the view he could have of the subject, he must say, that he could not consent to this Bill, because there was no proof of its necessity, or of the propriety of its provisions; it was very objectionable on account of its being a Bill to extend the discretion of those who could not in the nature of the thing be responsible for the exercise of that discretion. It was true that the Right Honourable Secretary of State had said, it was a Bill on suspicion, and therefore evidence of the facts on which it was sounded could not be given without deseating the intention of the Bill itself; but all this dwindled into nothing, and the Bill became a measure of oppression, when it gave power for the exercise of which no man was responsible; and that too when the assumed ground of the Bill had no soundation, namely, the danger of the country. Perhaps, indeed, some time hence

Ministers,

Ministers, if asked to shew what they had done for the service of the State, would affure the House that, but for their interference, much mischief might have ensued; they might say they fent fuch a person out of the country: perhaps somebody might know such a person, and say, " I knew that gentleman very " well, he had no views of fedition, he was a worthy and quiet " man."-" Oh, I beg your pardon," the Minister would fay, " you do not know him to well as I do; I fent him out of the " kingdom to prevent mischief; I grant you he did nothing " against the State, but that is owing to me, for I took care to " prevent him." Such might be the excuses of Ministers for fending away persons they pleased. As the whole they assumed in this case was of a negative quality, it would be impossible to detect them if they acted from caprice, as the word fuspicion covered every thing. He accused Ministers of no bad design or dispositions, but he did not like to give so much power without any necessity, and where there could be no responsibility. He must say, therefore, that without proof of the circumstances upon which the Bill was alleged to be necessary, he must give it his

negative. LORD MULGRAVE maintained, there were great dangers in this country, and upon that idea the Bill was necessary. He faid, he did not talk of the Society for Constitutional Information, they were too contemptible for him to amuse that House with any account of them; it was not from fuch fources that he apprehended danger, it was from great and able men in that House, lending the fanction of their names to dangerous principles, that he apprehended danger, and more especially when libels were taken out of the common course of disposal by Courts of Law, and when Societies were formed under the specious title of Friends of the Liberty of the Press, for the purpose of bringing the tribunal of Trial by Jury into difesteem, he thought it was time to be alarmed. This Society met some time ago, for the express purpose, and with a determination to blame twelve Englishmen for the verdict they gave, upon their oaths, on the trial of Thomas Paine for a libel, tried at Guildhall on Tuesday the These Resolutions would shew that it 11th of December last. was the determination of the Gentlemen of this Meeting to censure that verdict, and to blame twelve men upon their oaths for their verdict. - [No! No! was generally expressed.] His Lordship said, the Resolutions should speak for themselves, and therefore he would put the House into possession of their [Here he read the Resolutions, inserted in the Morning Chronicle of the 24th of December. 7 His Lordship then entered into a detail of the nature and views of this fociety; he also took a view of the effect of libels in this country, of the necessity

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necessity of checking them, and paid a handsome compliment to the Jury who tried Mr. Paine for his Rights of Man; he extolled also the trial by Jury, and hoped it would remain in its purity when the efforts of visionary reformers were forgotten. He took notice of Mr. Erskine, his Speech upon the trial, and his subsequent appearance at the Meeting of the Society of the Friends of the Liberty of the Press, and of the part he took at that meeting. He complimented him for his great abilities, but disapproved of his conduct in this particular, and rejoiced that his eloquence and labour for so many hours were not a match for the plain common sense of the Jury. He added various other topics in desence of the present measure, and concluded with giving his suport to the Bill.

The MARQUIS of TITCHFIELD faid, he thought it proper to state the ground on which he should give his vote upon this occasion. He should support the Bill, because he believed that we had some danger to apprehend; but he must repeat what he had said already on this subject, that it appeared to him that the calamity with which we were now threatened was owing in some degree to the negligence of our Ministers. If they had been as vigilant as they ought, they might have averted the distress which this country was about to feel. He expressed no general satisfaction at the conduct of Administration, but supported this Bill merely because he thought it a necessary

measure.

Mr. WYNDHAM approved of the principle of the Bill, as he had expressed himself on a former day; he had heard Gentlemen fay they knew not on what principle this Bill would be supported, and he would, by way of general observation, say, that he knew of no principle on which it ought to be opposed. differed with many of his friends on the state of the danger of this country at the present time; and he must fay, that when the leffions commenced, he thought there could not be much difference of opinion as to the existence of some danger, and afterwards, when this Bill came before the House, he had hopes that the opinion of Honourable Gentlemen would be fo nearly like each other, that the only question would be, what fort of a Bill should be passed to protect the general interests of the country; but he was very much disappointed, for now he found that the whole of that foundation was denied; he must declare, however, that nothing that he had heard yet contributed to change the opinion he had formed on this fubject before; he had heard no new fact, or reflection upon old facts, that had in the least degree altered his opinion. Propositions indeed had been stated that were very injurious, but they were all liable to one objection, they were all general. Such, for instance, as that danger did not Hh

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exist; or that Ministers deserved no confidence; or that the emigrants could not be diffinguished the one from the other; these observations were very ingenious, but all that he would fay was. that they were all very much out of their place, and to fuch general observations he could only return general answers, which were, that the accounts of infurrections, or of probable infurrections, and other dangers, could not be judged of by detached acts, but must be taken all together, as it were in a combination: it would be as ridiculous in Ministry, in such a situation as this country was in at present, to give to that House any specific fact which they knew of, as it was in the case where a man, to give a specimen of his house, brought a brick in his pocket. In this case single facts were nothing, but when they were taken jointly with other circumstances, then they became of importance. He did not like to go over these points, not because facts were not with them, but because the cause must suffer in detail. He said, he was far from being of opinion, that gentlemen on the other (the Ministerial) fide of the House, were the framers and artificers of the alarm which had spread over the country, because that conclusion did not correspond with the facts and dates. Some time previous to the meeting of Parliament he was so far from thinking that Ministers had shewn an endeavour to create an alarm, that he confessed the greatest subject of his alarm was, that Ministers did not state any thing to the public. He thought, that a fort of inattention, or supineness, was attributable to them, and this was a cause of his alarm. As to the number of persons who were supposed to be disaffected, or whose intentions might be dangerous, he had never represented them as forming any thing like a majority in this country; if they had, we should not have walked the streets in safety, nor assemble in that House in quiet; but he knew that strength with such persons, although weak at first, must in time be very formidable, and they would take care to be well acquainted with their power before they came to act upon their opinion. He did not pretend to know exactly how these persons felt, or when they intended to commit violence, but if he was to judge from the confidence of the looks of certain persons, he would say that, according to their imagination, the time was not very distant. Here Mr. Wyndham alluded to the persons who were lately convicted of endeavouring to blow up the wall of the King's Bench prison; to the expresfions of one of them, who had threatened to murder Lords Thurlow and Kenyon; to the correspondence they were faid to hold with a Reformation Society in the Borough; to the help they expected from a mob, after they had effected their escape; and then maintained that these things were evidence of public danger, and called for the vigilance of government; and he was

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of opinion that the present Bill was a fit measure for that purpose. And as to the hardships which had been stated to affect certain French persons, they must affect somebody, and he could not believe that the discretion given to Ministers was such as Parliament should not grant. He maintained that, from the value and nature of the power to be given to Ministers, there was no probability of their abusing it. Besides, there was a material difference in the operation of a Bill of this nature as applied to the case of a native, and that of a foreigner. In the act of transportation, for instance, to a native, it is almost equal in horror to fentence of death; but to a foreigner, who came here perhaps by force, and was eager to go away again, it was no punishment; to transport such a person, and to endeavour to terrify by fuch a fentence, was something like drowning a fish. In short, Mr. Wyndham said, he had not the least difficulty in giving this Bill his support, and in considering this as one of the instances in which he was about to support government, and as much had been faid lately on supporting Administration, that it became perhaps necessary for him to say a few words upon that subject, otherwise he should have contented himself with simply

giving his opinion upon the subject in debate.

Upon the subject, therefore, of supporting Administration, he begged to be understood as speaking no sentiments but his own, as had been the case lately; not that he thought such conduct improper or indelicate; yet, as he had no fuch authority, it would be improper in him; he should therefore fay only what were his own ideas upon that fubject. What did any man mean when he faid he would support Administration?— Why he meant this—that he would, in a fair liberal construction of the word, which should be understood according to the time and circumstances of the speaker, aid government—this was language for a gentleman on the Opposition side of the House. When a gentleman on the other side said that he meant to support Administration—What did he mean?—Did he mean to fay he would support government right or wrong?—Certainly not—No man could be expected to be so destitute of principle it only meant that he would support them while he thought they were right, that was a right way of acting; and it was from a proper motive, but to declare it was rather unnecessary. Was there then any meaning that a man might have which he would hold to view at any time? He thought there might be.— The nature of this was eafily understood—it was peculiarly the subject of debate in the year 1784, and was the basis of the difterence between him and the present Administration; and he was still of opinion, that the judgment of Parliament should Hh 2

have an unifon with the general practice of Administration, and that none should be appointed into Administration, into places of importance, who had not the confidence of that House; and this, he faid, because much of the proceedings of that House must depend upon confidence. Upon some measures a great deal depended on confidence in Administration. Upon others, the whole might be a point of confidence. If these observations were true in general, of which he had no doubt, there were other measures that from their own nature were still more delicate, because from their very nature they would not admit of difagreement of opinion; or the policy of them would be doubted, and that would have a very bad effect. With respect to the difference of conduct between a gentleman supporting what is called Opposition, and what is called supporting Government, it feemed to him to be this: the gentleman in favour of Administration might say, " I will support Government until I see a reason why it should not be supported."-The gentleman in Opposition should say, "I will oppose Administration until I fee a reason why they should be supported."-As to his fentiments, he had not changed his mind upon the affairs of Europe; nor had he determined to support all the measures of What then was his reason for supporting the Administration. measures of Administration now? he believed it must be looked for, and it would be found in the circumstances of the country. -But why should he support the present Administration, if he thought there were others who were more fit to fill their stations?—This required many observations.

In the first place, it was important—a bad administration was a bad thing, fo was a weak administration. Now supposing an administration to be bad, it followed of course that it must be made a weak one before it could be overturned. In the interim great danger might happen to the country, particularly for want of confidence in time of difficulty. He then defined a fystematic opposition to be, that of opposing a minister in all his faults, for the purpose of finally overturning and displacing him from power, but not to oppose a measure that appeared to be right. But when he looked on the fituation of this country, he wished to know if any thing could counterbalance the danger of removing a minister at this time; and he begged the House to reflect, whether the proposed advantage would be worth the rifk; and, therefore, although he might think that (he begged now to be understood as speaking hypothetically, and not from any opinion of his own), a better administration might be formed, still he would not vote for its change at prefent. He would go further—he would fay, that an administration being a bad one, was a reason why at this time he should not attempt to remove they f public not gi

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move them; because, in proportion as they might be bad, would they strive to remain in power, and consequently neglect their public business. He would in that case say to them, "I will not give you the excuse of being illiberally opposed-Do your

duty, and I will support you."

The Hon. THOMAS GRENVILLE explained why he voted for the Bill, after having opposed the unlimited approbation of the conduct of Ministers, which they were called upon to vote in the Address on the opening of the Session. He approved of their affembling Parliament, and calling out the militia, but he thought that they did both in an improper manner. Had they alleged the fituation of the country as the reason, and come to Parliament for an Act of Indemnity on account of having adopted measures which the exigency of the case required, but which law did not warrant, they should have had his support; but he thought it a most dangerous thing to leave to any ministers the interpretation of an Act of Parliament on the mere letter, without regard to the spirit. To the Bill there was no fuch objection. It was evidently called for by the circumfrances of the time; and instead of being, as it had been called, an act of rigour and oppression, it was, in his opinion, an act of benevolence and humanity.

When other countries were compelled by their fears to refuse an alylum alike to the guilty and the unfortunate, it enabled ours to extend our hospitality to those whom anarchy, injustice, and the most imminent personal danger, had driven from their own country, while it enabled us to guard against those who came not to affaffinate this or that man, but to affaffinate our free and excellent Constitution. It was faid to give a power to Ministers, without responsibility; their responsibility was increated by it; because as it gave them greater power, it made them answerable to the country both for what they did and what they omitted. The Commercial Treaty was not violated by it; for the state of things to which it applied was an extraordinary circumstance, which, at the time of forming the Commercial Treaty, no man could foresee, nor have in his

contemplation.

On the necessity of the Bill he had the misfortune to differ from his Right Honourable Friend (Mr. Fox). The instances in which he had hitherto differed from him were but few, and he was fure they would not now be more. Such accidental differences he regretted only as his high opinion of the superior talents of his Right Honourable Friend made him always suspect his own judgment. More than this it was not only unnecessary, but improper, to fay. It would be unworthy of him as a Member of Parliament, doing his duty, as in his confcience he thought

thought right-would be unworthy of the character of his Right Honourable Friend, whose generous, candid, and manly mind, would fcorn any support but that of men who supported him on principle, and who would openly avow a difference of opinion when they felt it. If the country had received much benefit from the exertions of his Right Honourable Friend and those who acted with him, their present difference would be an advantage, not a loss. The public would give them credit for the integrity of their motives, when they were feen to differ in opinion, and confequently for the same motives when they were feen to concur-fo that he trufted their connexion, by the prefent difference, would be strengthened, not impaired.

Mr. MITFORD faid, that no attempt had been made to prove infurrections by one fide of the House, and attempts had been made to disprove them by the other. The latter convinced him that infurrections did exist. This Bill gave to government no new or extraordinary power. Every government, by the acknowledged laws of nations, claimed and exercised the right of prohibiting Aliens from coming into the country; because the natural born fubjects of any country had an interest in its pre-

fervation, while Aliens had none.

He entered into an historical and legal discussion of the power of the Crown to fend Aliens at any time out of the kingdom, adducing an instance of it in the reign of Henry the Fourth, from which he inferred, that the Crown still possessed this prerogative, and confequently that the Bill contains temporary limitations of that prerogative, which however it very properly neither confirmed, annulled, nor diminished, as long as it should be in force, instead of increasing the power of the Executive Government. It was not intended to deny the hospita-Lity and protection of the country to fuch men as La Fayette, and those who had been the framers of the late Monarchical Constitution of France. They were the warmest admirers of the British Constitution, and many of them now declared, that wherever they had deviated from it as a model in attempting to form a new Constitution for their own country, they were len-That dangerous doctrines had been fible they had done wrong. introduced into this country, was evident from certain catchwords that were common.—One of these, the National Will, he was forry to fee in the report of a late speech by a Learned Gentleman (Mr. Erskine). The phrase, he believed, had not been used by the Learned Gentleman, but inserted by the newspaper reporter; the infertion, however, was a proof that the phrase was familiar to the mind of the reporter.

The Norwich Society likewife said, that when the National Will was expressed it was the duty of all to obey. The Na-

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tional Will was to be expressed only by the Legislature of the country, by the King, Lords, and Commons. The National Opinion might indeed be expressed by legal means, by Petition, or Address, to the Legislature; yet this very mode of expressing it was ridiculed by Mr. Paine, as nugatory and absurd. Liberty and Equality, another of these phrases, could exist together only on paper, or in the cry of a mob. Where there was equality there could be no liberty. Where distinction of orders was destroyed, government could not exist. He concluded with a quotation,

Take the degree away, and mark what discord follows, &c.

And applied the whole to the present state of France, where he said there could be no government, no order, no peace, no security for Europe, or for this country, till the whole system on which the French had been lately acting was abandoned, and a

better taken up in its room.

Mr. FOX faid, the immediate question before the House had been treated in a manner fo general—fo many extraneous topics had been introduced, that he must depart from the mode in which he meant to have treated it. He would begin with the state of the country, and examine what degree of danger existed when Parliament met, and what degree of danger exifted now. His opinion on the first day of the Session, and he hoped he should not be misunderstood, or what he said misinterpreted now, as had been the case then, was, that no danger existed to justify the measure of calling out the militia, and asfembling Parliament, and in the manner in which this was done. His Honourable Friend (Mr. Wyndham) had faid, that the dangers alleged in the Proclamation were not to be judged of in detail; that they would make no figure mentioned individually, but were to be estimated by the impression made upon every man's mind by the whole taken together. That they were not to be detailed he was ready to admit, for

Dolus versatur in generalibus,

they would not bear detailing; if they were to be mentioned individually, they would appear so many infignificant circumstances, as to excite ridicule instead of alarm; and therefore his Honourable Friend did right in begging that they might not be so mentioned. The danger, whatever might be its degree, had two sources—First, the fear of the propagation of French opinions in this country; and next, the fear of the progress of the French arms. These might, for one purpose, be taken conjointly, but he entreated that they might be first considered distinctly, for he saw them in very different points of view. The propagation of French opinions in this country was, in his opinion,

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nion so very small, so very much confined, as to afford no serious cause of alarm to any mind of rational consistency. It had been said that the Proclamation at the close of the last Session of Parliament had checked the growth of the evil; but this was a mere gratis dictum, for those who said so were not able to adduce juridical, for that was not required of them, but prudential proof that it ever had existed.

What then was the alarm? Those who thought they had cause for alarm in May, might naturally think that they had still greater cause—that those who entertained those obnoxious opinions would diffeminate them with greater confidence—would act on them with greater boldness when the French arms profpered. For parts of the country where he had not refided, he did not pretend to answer; but, in this town at least, and, as he had every reason to believe, in all other parts of the kingdom, these French opinions were not adopted to any degree that could be called alarming. His Honourable Friend had faid, let them compare the phænomena with the theory, and they could not fail to be convinced of the danger. His Honourable Friend's mind, he rather believed, was to full of the theory, that he could not help inferring the phænomena, instead of raising the theory from well ascertained phænomena. He (Mr. Fox) had always faid, that whatever progress the doctrines of France might make in other countries, they would make but little here, where rational liberty was enjoyed and understood. He founded his hopes of this on his own opinion of the Constitution, and the attachment of the people to it, and the event had justified his hopes instead of the fears of some other persons. If real danger had existed, if those from whom it was apprehended had been proceeding to action, if they had been rifing in arms, if they had been going to take possession of the Tower, suppositions which now no man believed, then, indeed, calling out the militia would have been a wife and necessary measure. But if no fuch act was impending, to what purpose was a military force prepared ?- To repel opinion-opinions were never yet driven out of a country by pikes, and fwords, and guns. Against them the militia was no defence. How then were they to be met if they existed?—By contempt if they were absurd—by argument if specious,—by prosecutions if they were seditious; although that certainly was not a mode which he would recommend, but it was a mode which Ministers had before reforted to, and which they had still in their power. If, then, no act founded on these opinions was believed to be committed or intended, they who voted against the Address on the first day of the Session were right, for no good ground had been laid for the measures which they were called upon to approve. Could

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Could not Ministers have profecuted Paine without an army? Was any apprehension stated that the trial would not be suffered p go on in the usual course? He had been asked by a Learned Gentleman, whether or not a book with an evil tendency was to be declared innocent, because not coupled with any act, and without proof of extrinsic circumstances? His answer was certainly not, but the evil tendency must be proved. Sometimes the evil tendency might be evident from the book itself-formetimes it might not without being coupled with extrinsic circumflances, and where this was the cafe, the extrinsic circumfances must be proved to the satisfaction of the jury, before they were warranted in pronouncing guilty—this was his opinion, and this he thought had been to furficiently understood by both fides of the House, in the debates on the Libel Bill, as to prevent any misrepresentation. The alarm then on the propagation of opinions, could not justify the remedy which Ministers had adopted, especially when it was coupled with a false affertion of infurrections; and therefore if it did not create, it certainly augmented the alarm—he meant not in the mind of his Monourable Friend: he had been full of alarm for feveral months—an alarm that had taken fuch complete possession of his ardent imagination, that he could attend to nothing elfe, and he feared it would be several months more before it could be set right. Another ground of alarm was the progress of the French arms. They who represented him as indifferent to that progress, did him great injustice. He was by no means so. He thought the same national spirit, that under Louis XIV. had threatened the liberties of all Europe, might influence, and actually had influenced, the conduct of the French at present; -and he might perhaps think that this national spirit was more likely to collect and to act now than at the time to which he alluded. He had even faid, that this country ought to have interfered at an earlier period. He differed from a Noble Lord (Wycombe) who had spoken so ably, that he was forry he could not concur in all the Noble Lord had faid on two material points. He was clearly of opinion, that the navigation of the Scheldt, if not guaranteed to the Dutch by the letter of the treaty of 1788, was virtually guaranteed to them by that treaty; and if they infifted upon it, would be a good cafus fæderis for going to war. The differed allo from the Noble Lord in thinking, that, however much he might disapprove of any treaty at the time it was negociating, when concluded, it was as religiously to be adhered to by those who disapproved of it, as by those who made it. But in all these cales both the contracting parties were to be confidered the principal and the ally; and they were not to go to war, even in tupcalled the death and inch port

port of the treaty, without a mutual regard to the interests of both.

In the prefent case, he thought it probable that, considering the risk to be run, and the doubtful advantage of the monopoly of the Scheldt, Holland might prefer the giving it up to the danger and expense of a war. If fo, furely we were not to force the Dutch into a war against their own sense of their own interest, because we were their ally. The decree of the French Convention, of instruction to their Generals, he should also confider as a declaration of hostility, if not repealed, or explained to our fatisfaction; always understanding that this fatisfaction was to be demanded in the proper way. He therefore faw cause of external danger, and might, perhaps, think that it was in a great measure owing to the neglect of Minifters; but when he faw the armies and the fleets of France, and recollected that we had no public means of communication, by which any differences that had arisen, or might arise, could be explained, the danger appeared great and imminent indeed. -When he confidered the various relations in which we stood with respect to France, and the numerous points on which the two countries might interfere, the circumstance alone of having no public communication would in itself be a great cause of peril. For this reason he had voted for an army and a navy, not for any of the eccentric reasons given by his Honourable Friend (Mr. Wyndham) that he would support Ministers, because he thought them unfit for their fituations—but because he never knew a minister so bad as that he would not trust him with a fleet and army rather than expose the country to danger. Having thus discriminated the internal and external danger, he would ask how the measures that had been adopted were the proper remedy. If confidered distinctly, either the measure or the mode did not apply. If connected, the remedy for the one was no remedy for the other. If France threatened to invade Holland, or refused an explanation of the offensive decree, calling out the militia would be right; but for crushing objectionable opinions or doctrines affuredly not. He knew not how to fight an opinion, nor did history furnish him with inflruction. The opinions of Luther and of Calvin had been combated by arms—there was no want of war, no want of blood, no want of confederacies of princes to extirpate them. Were they extirpated?—No—they had spread and flourished by bloodshed and persecution. The comparison of these with opinions of another description might seem invidious, but it was so only if they were attacked by reason, not if attacked by war. By force and power no opinion, good or bad, truth or herely, had ever been subdued. But then it was said, if we went to war,

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war, one of the weapons of the French would be instilling their opinions into the minds of our people. If it was, he trufted it would fail. But would a danger fo much dreaded in peace be less in time of war? War it was to be hoped would be successful; but were we such children as to forget, that in war the sway of fortune was great, and that the burden of certain taxes, difgust at ill fuccefs, and rage at misconduct, would dispose the minds of men to receive doctrines and impressions unfavourable to the Constitution? Even all this he hoped they would refist; but it would be putting them to a feverer trial than he withed to fee. On these opinions it was not necessary for him to say, that he who loved the Constitution, disapproved of the opinions of those who faid that we had no Constitution. His love of the Constitution was to the Constitution on its old form, which had subfifted by constant reformation, and was of fuch a nature, that if it was not improving, it was in a flate of decay. He was happy to find by the resolutions from various parts of the country, that in this opinion he was not fingular. Like every human production, the Constitution was not perfect, and if it were it would not long continue to unless the practice of it were not carefully watched, if that spirit of vigilance on the part of the People, which was its best security, were lulled to sleep. Melancholy therefore as the present prospect was, he saw more danger than ever from that prospect, from pushing the present alarm too far, making them fee the picture all on one fide—the dangers of anarchy only, while they were inattentive to the abuses and encroachments of the Executive Power on the other. If the Bill was intended to guard against internal danger, while we were at war with France, we knew that in 1715 and 1745, the French had not been sparing of attempts to sow diffensions, and excite rebellion in the country, and yet we had, by the Commercial Treaty, provided for the protection of the Aliens of both countries even after an actual declaration of war! Did it guard against the introduction of opinions? No-we had not yet come to the measure of prohibiting all French books and papers, which Spain had adopted about a year ago; nor was the policy or the wildom of it to much applauded, as to induce us to follow the example. But these opinions were propagated by conversation. What! did a Frenchman when he landed find an audience to understand the terms of his philosophy, and immediately open a lort of Tusculan disputation? Were they disseminated in clubs and convivial meetings where men were disposed to approve rather of what was animated than what was proper? The very idea of a Frenchman getting up to harangue in his broken English, at such a meeting, was too ridiculous to be mentioned. If they were propagated at all, it must be by English agents, and these, 112

if any such there were, which he did not much believe, would remain in the kingdom if every foreigner were sent out of it. The preamble of the Bill was a complete delusion, for it stated the extraordinary resort of Aliens to this country as the pretence of the Bill, while every body knew that extraordinary resort to be occasioned by circumstances that had no connexion with it. The spirit of it was kept up in the mode of the desence; for it was said by one Gentleman, that 400 Aliens had marched into London in one day; while another gentleman (Mr. Burke) said he had examined these Aliens, and sound that they were not dangerous. Surely where that Right Honourable Gentleman saw no danger, every body else might be perfectly at ease.

With respect to the emigrants, among whom it was meant to make a diffunction by the Bill, he would protect those who had fallen a facrifice to their opinions in favour of the old government of France, not because he approved their principles, but because he respected their misfortunes. With respect to those who fuffered for their attachment to the new Constitution, he had heard it faid by aperson of high rank, that, if La Fayette were here, he ought to be fent out of the country. Was this to be endured ?- Was it fit to vest any Ministers with such a power, merely in the hope that they would not abuse it? The third description, those who had fled for fear of punishment, for being concerned in the detettable maffacre of the second of September, all men would wish to see removed; but was this a sufficient ground for a particular law? The horrors of that day ought not to be mentioned as the act of the French government, or the French people, for both disclaimed it; -but to disclaim was not enough—that the crime was not prevented or followed up by striking examples of punishment, would be an indelible difgrace to Paris and to France: but were we to go to war on account of these inhuman murders? no war could be rational that had not some object, which being obtained, made way for peace. We were not, he trufted, going to war for the reftoration of the old French government, nor for the extermination of the French people. What then had the horrors committed in France to do with the reasons of war? but they had to do with the passions of men, and were held out to bluid their judgment by exciting their indignation. That we might have a rational, an intelligible account of the object for which we were going to war, he had made the propositions on which the House had already decided, and notwithstanding their ill success, he should not desist till fuch an account was obtained. The Prerogative of the Crown to fend Foreigners out of the kingdom, faid to be left untouched by the Bill, ought not to remain in doubt. The fingle instance produced from the reign of Henry IV, was counterbalanced

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balanced by another in the same reign, when the King did the fame thing by the authority of Parliament, which he had before done by his own power. He believed that the prerogative did not exist, and if it did, that it was too dangerous to be suffered to remain. If, on the other hand, it was a prerogative for the good of the people-if, indeed, the word people were not expunged from our political dictionary, the good of the people being the only foundation that he knew for any prerogative, it was fit that it should be clearly defined and understood, either by an enacting or a declaratory law. In answer to Lord Mulgrave, he paid a handsome compliment to Mr. Erskine, to whose abilities and perseverance it was owing that the verdict of a jury could now be had on the guilt or innocence of any writing charged as libellous; and faid, that he would have been guilty of a breach of honour in his profession, if he had shrunk from the defence of Mr. Paine, or shewed that any man prosecuted in this country could be deprived of the advantage of counsel,

where counsel was allowed by law.

To the charge of inconfiftency, in having figned the declaration of a fociety against seditious writings, while he thought fuch focieties illegal, he faid he did not understand the declaration as meaning to profecute any writings by fubscription, and was told that the money subscribed was not for any such purpole, but to pay for papers and advertisements. If he had misunderstood the one, or been misimformed in the other, he would withdraw his name. He had figned a declaration of attachment to the Constitution, because he thought it of importance at the present moment to let foreigners, and especially the French, fee that men of all descriptions were firmly attached to it; that they had been grossly deceived by the addresses from this country, which told them, that their doctrines were very generally adopted here—that they had been deceived by the Minister's Proclamations, stating that there was great danger from their doctrines,—that they were deceived by the alarms expressed by some of his own friends. This he had done, and every thing confiftent with honour he would still do, to prevent a war with France, more especially a war on falle hopes, on one part, and falle grounds on the other. On the subject of party connexion, it was seldom proper, at all times difficult, to speak, and he was not called upon to do it. He would just only shew his Honourable Friend a few of the confequences from the doctrine he had laid down. Honourable Friend would oppose a Ministry while he had hopes of turning them out, and seeing his friends get into their places; but when these hopes were at an end, he would join them.— Many of those who had formerly opposed Ministers, had done. 10—more would follow their example; but they never dreamt that they should have so good a defence for their conduct, as the lystem

fyftem of his Honourable Friend-a doctrine much more convenient for others than he was fure it ever would be for himfelf.-Was it a fit lesson to teach Ministers, that if by their misconduct the public fafety were to be brought in danger, then they should have the support of those who had before opposed them? Would it curb the inordinate and felfish ambition of men in power to fay, that if he thought them fo good as to refign their places rather than their country should fuffer, he would oppose them; but if he thought them fo bad as to facrifice their country to their own love of place, he should feel himself bound not only to withdraw his opposition, but to join them. If his Hon. Friend did join Ministers, they would not have much reason to be proud, for on his own principle, in proportion to the support he gave them, would be his bad opinion of those to whom he went, and his good opinion of those whom he left. Would it not be difficult to draw the line, to determine when a Minister had done just mischief enough to deserve to be supported? Mr. Fox, after putting this in a variety of most happily imagined and most striking points of view, concluded a speech, of which we have been able only briefly to touch on the most important heads, with moving, That the further confideration of the Bill be postponed to that day three weeks, in order to give time for enquiry into the grounds of the necessity alteged for it.

Lord MULGRAVE and Mr. MITFORD explained.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER faid, that a great variety of matter had been introduced in this evening's debate, and though he thought the Bill before the House might be justified upon much narrower ground, still he did not complain of any irregularity, as he confidered that matter as connected with the fituation of affairs from which arose the necesfity for the present measure. A Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Fox) had affumed as a principle, that no Bill of this fort ought to be brought forward, except upon some ground of positive circumstances upon which it was founded being stated in the preamble. He must remark, however, that this objection came rather too late, after four or five discussions had already taken place, more especially with respect to a Bill which was from its nature argent, and which, if it was proper to be passed at all, ought to be paffed immediately. That he indeed, who had declared himself an enemy to the principle of the Bill, should propose a delay of three weeks, in order to enquire into the circumstances upon which it was founded, was not furprising; and as this delay would take place chiefly during the holidays, a feafon by no means favourable to the forwarding of fuch an enquiry, the proposition was almost tantamount to the rejection of the Bill; but it was by no means probable that those who approved of the principle

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ciple of the Bill, who thought it called for by the circumstances of the time, and necessary both to the internal and external fecurity of the country, would eafily be brought to concur in fuch a delay. The only ground, indeed, upon which this delay could be justified, was, that the present Bill was an object of juridical, and not of legislative deliberation. But would the Honourable Gentlemen deny, that the propriety of the Executive Government interfering in particular circumstances, to send strangers out of the country, or to regulate their residence, was a fair object of legislative deliberation? On different occasions, in the history of this country, the Habeas Corpus had been suspended, without any previous notice having been

The present Bill he considered as a measure of precaution, no less fair than an augmentation of the naval or military force of the country. It was founded in facts of notoriety, and the most evident deductions of reasoning. If he was called upon to state the particular grounds upon which the Bill was founded, the only difficulty which he should find was, that these grounds, were in themselves far greater than the magnitude of the meafure. If he should only state that, by some calamity of nature. great numbers of foreigners had come into this country, without the means of fublishence, without being brought for any purposes of commerce, or without any means of discrimination, even this he should consider as affording a sufficient object of jealousy and attention. But when it appeared that these came from a country whose principles were inimical to the peace and order of every other government; and, though many of them, no doubt, had fled here in order to find a refuge from the fword of perfecution, there was but too much reason to suspect that among these had mingled emissaries for prey, regard for our own interelts, and for the fafety of the country, enforced the necessity of peculiar vigilance.

In addition to all these circumstances, we find that in the councils of that country, from which these persons had come, there had been adopted a fystem of propagating, by every means of art and force, principles inimical to the government of every country, and that they were now actually carrying on a war against the established government of other countries, under the specious pretext of promoting the cause of freedom. had stated these circumstances, would it be faid that the present Bill had been brought forward without any evidence or ground of danger? But he now came to the climax of all. In this country itself there had been found persons who protested the same principles with those maintained in the councils of that neighbouring state, and held out the model of their government as an object of applause and imitation; nay, who had industributly

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propagated, and publicly avowed, that they acted with them in concert. They had held a correspondence with the affiliated Societies of Jacobins; they had presented Addresses to the Convention, and had there been received, encouraged, and cherished, and had in return met with offers of fraternity and succour. Was there then not reason to suppose, that persons might have been sent to this country with a view of carrying on that concert? Was not this obvious to the understanding and feelings of every Hon. Gentleman present? He should state nothing from his own personal information, as he considered that there was in the present instance sufficient ground of action and decision without such information: he should only, in general, say, that, as far as he had opportunity of knowing, he had reason to be confirmed in every suspicion, which arose from that situation of affairs

which he had now described.

It had been asked, what were the number of those who had been concerned in enormities too shocking to relate in a neighbouring state, who were now in this country? He trusted, however, that the progress of the Bill would not be stopped to enguire, by a select committee, what was the number of these persons, whether they were eighteen or nineteen? what was the degree of mischief which they might commit, or whether they had been fent here for the most horrid of all purposes, with respect to the Royal Family? In all such enquiries the evidence that could he obtained was only by hearfay, which was always uncertain. The number of those persons, he could affirm, who had been concerned in fuch shocking enormities, and were now in this country, had been stated from no authority. But if he knew that there was one, that alone afforded fufficient ground of fuspicion that there were more. And if there were more, it was to be recollected that these were not to act upon their single strength, but in conjunction with those in this country who entertained feditious views. In this point of view, it was to be remarked that a mob, which might at any other time be difregarded, became alarming; the smallest spark might produce an explosion, while there were a fet of desperate individuals determined to take advantage of every public commotion, and convert it to their own purposes.

The danger then arose not from individual strength, but from the consideration of the whole of the situation of the country—A great number of foreigners had come into it, there were no means of discriminating their characters, and as they tendered the safety of the country, it became necessary that at the present moment these should be objects of prudence and vigilance. He was a little surprised how it was possible, in the present instance, to separate domestic from external danger. He should have con-

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fidered the domestic alarm as sufficient ground for the present Bill, much more when to it was added the confideration of extemal danger. If there were persons at home disaffected to the conflitution, and defirous to overturn the established form of government, and if these were in concert with persons abroad, he should certainly consider this not as a less reason to guard against machinations at home, and to watch the conduct of those Was it not an evident consequence of this concert that the danger must be increased, as the domestic and external danger would mutually operate upon each other? Yet after all that had been stated, there are some who tell us, that they fear no internal alarm, that they fee no cause of danger. Notwithflanding the general fentiment of the country and of that House, they affect to treat the whole as the effect of ministerial artifice. Had ministerial artifice made those who had hitherto acted upon a fystem of opposition now concur in the opinion of this danger? Had it made all the Members of that House, except ten or fifteen, agree in the same sentiment? Had ministerial artifice excited but one opinion in the country with respect to this danger from one end of it to the other? But it was faid, that the alarm had been produced by the measures of calling out the militia, and affembling Parliament: He would ask whether the week before these measures had been adopted, the appearance of alarm had been greater or less than the week after, or at the present moment? It had rather been the business of his life to allay than to ferment. He had expected his exertions on the prefent occasion to be seconded by the efforts of the friends of order; but he could hardly expect that the effect would be fo great as that the alarm, which had lately prevailed in some places to a degree of despondency, should be so completely annihilated, that even the existence of the danger should in a short time after be called in queftion. But he should be forry that the effect produced should be a fense of fecurity, which must be fatal. While vigilance was maintained, he should consider the country to be safe. Those whom it was necessary to guard against were those who, in the moment of alarm, placed their hopes in obscurity, and waited till that alarm should have subsided in order to renew their machinations. He should now shortly point out what were the leading circumstances of the present time. What had they feen?—They had feen within two or three years a revolution in France, founded upon principles which were inconfistent with our own, and with every regular Government—which were hostile to hereditary Monarchy; to Nobility; to all the priviledged orders; and to every fort of popular representation short of that which would give to every individual a voice in the election of representatives. Writings had been published in this country, Kk

holding out this Government as an object of envy, and a model of imitation, decrying every other form of government as founded in injustice, and inconfistent with the unalienable rights of man; reprefenting this new system as holding out relief to the poor, and inculcating a more pure and fimple system of morals, and enlarging the circle of focial happinels-How far it deserved this character, its own practice would best prove. Societies had been formed in different manufacturing towns in this country upon the model of the Jacobin Societies in France, where the utmost art and industry had been employed to inflame the passions and mislead the judgment of the lower classes, and where the doctrines inculcated might be supposed to be attended with the worst effect. These Societies carried on correspondence with the Societies and Councils of France, and received from them intimations of support. In addition to all this, we have feen a code of the laws of nations adopted in France hoftile to every other government—a fystem of anarchy and ambition, fetting at defiance all regular authority, and treating as unlawful every thing which has been fanctioned by the laws of other countries. They had witnessed the effects of this anarchy in the country in which it had taken place: they had feen the progress of that ambition extending the same anarchy to other countries. Their new Code of the Laws of Nations went to establish their government wherever they should carry their arms. As their ambition was unbounded, so the anarchy which they hoped to establish was universal. From the conduct which they had already exhibited, a judgment might be formed of the future course which they would pursue. Under the specious pretext of promoting the cause of freedom, they had shewn no scruple to annex the territories of their neighbours to their own dominions, and to force upon the inhabitants of the countries, which they had entered, that freedom, which they were unwilling to receive, and of which certainly the state of their own country did not afford a very flattering specimen. Their own declarations had shewn that their views were not confined to particular countries; that their object was to propagate their own fystem, by all the means which art, industry, or force, could supply. When there were men in this country connected with a people actuated by fuch principles, and purfuing fuch a fystem, it furely became a matter of the most ferious consideration. Such being the state of circumstances, he put it to the hearts, consciences, judgments, and understandings, of gentlemen prefent, whether there was not ferious ground of alarm? He had been told that calling out the Militia had excited this alarm. With respect to this, there were two questions: first, whether the measure of calling out the militia was prudent, and expedient

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for the national fafety; and, fecondly, whether the laws autho-fifed fuch a measure. In the circumstances which he had stated, any one infurrection whatever rendered this measure legal. Other motives not only justified it, but rendered it highly prudent. An infurrection, though not immediately directed against the government, might give to the feditious an opportunity of friking the blow which they defired and meditated. An infurrection which called out the military, who, during the time of peace were not more than sufficient for ordinary purposes, particularly laid the country at the mercy of the feditious, and deprived it of all means of protection. Such was the general view of the state of affairs, combined with which there was a necessity of taking some measure against that influx of foreigners which While all that House and all the had poured into the country. country agree with respect to the existence of danger, there were ten or fifteen in the House who completely denied it; but even these could not agree with regard to the degree of its non-existence. In this respect, they were inconsistent with one another, and in some instances, inconsistent with themselves. A Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Fox), though he disapproved of the principles upon which the French acted—though afraid of the progress of their arms, was not afraid of the progress of their opinions, in this country. On this score, he apprehends nothing, though it was particularly the interest, and had always been the policy, of the French to fow divisions in those countries against which they entertained views of hostility—a policy which, in the present instance, could not be better answered than by propa-Opinions, that Right Honourable gating their fentiments. Gentleman had stated, were not to be opposed by force; they were to be refisted, first by neglect and contempt, the mode of which he feemed most to approve; fecondly, by argument and reasoning; and lastly, by prosecution, which, however, he did not greatly commend.

He would only ask, what fort of opinions were those to which the Honourable Gentleman had alluded?—Serious and conscientious opinions, founded upon sober and dispassionate reasoning, he would own, had a claim to the utmost indulgence, and ought always to be treated with deference; but surely, with regard to wild and violent notions, assuming the name of opinions, but tending, by overt acts, to overturn every established government, and to introduce anarchy and confusion, a different mode of conduct was to be observed. Those opinions which the French entertained were of the most dangerous nature; they were opinions professed by interest, inflamed by passion, propagated by delusion, which their successes had carried to the utmost excess, and had contributed to render still more dan-

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For, would the Hon. Gentleman tell him, that the French opinions received no additional weight from the fuccess of their armies? Was it possible to separate between the progress of their opinions and the success of their arms? It was evident that the one must influence the other, and that the diffufion of their principles must keep pace with the extent of their victories. He was not afraid of the progress of French principles in this country, unless the defence of the country should previously be undermined by the introduction of these principles.—A Noble Lord had faid, that if a war should take place, the blame of that war must entirely belong to Ministers.—He would here beg to refer to the conduct of France. It had first denied the obligation of a treaty, which, though fometimes called absolute, had been confidered as the corner stone of the balance of Europe, and repeatedly renewed; which had been coeval with the establishment of Dutch freedom, and was in fact necessary to the existence of the independence of Holland—a treaty in which France could have no concern, except in fulfilment of its own stipulation, to guard it against infringement; and which could only be matter of question between the Sovereign of the Dutch Republic, and the Sovereign of the Austrian Netherlands .-France could only have one of two motives for interference either as affuming to act as Sovereign of the Netherlands, or because she has proclaimed a new code of the Law of Nations, by which she presumes to dictate to every country, and to model every government by her own standard. Could we then in this country, without refigning the spirit of independent Britons, and the faith due to an ally, submit to so insolent and unjust a claim as that of opening the Scheldt on the part of the French?-But they affected, upon their present system, to despise all treaties, and to regard the one in question as extorted by avarice, and confented to through despotism.

The fecond circumstance to which he should call their attention was, their Decree of the 19th of November. By this Decree the French engaged to assist all people in procuring their freedom---such a freedom he supposed as they themselves enjoyed. We have seen, said he, French freedom in definition, we have seen it in illustration, and have now an opportunity to compare the theory with the practice. Their conduct in Flanders afforded a specimen of the nature of their freedom. They had there endeavoured to propagate their doctrines, but finding the inhabitants not disposed to give them so favourable a reception as they could have wished, they had taken the method of inculcating opinions of freedom by force. Their general had issued a proclamation, that whoever should not embrace the tree of liberty should be cut off as a wretch unsit to live. The Noble

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Lord talked of their having given an explanation with respect to this decree. What fort of explanation had they given? They had stated that it was not their intention to affist a few individuals, but only to interfere in cases where a great majority of the people should be disposed to shake off their government; so that in fact it was their intention to promote rebellion in other countries, and to declare war against all established governments. This fort of war was an inexpiable war against all legitimate power, and which was only to terminate in its extinction.

Formerly the splendor of conquest had in some measure been purified by the respect which had been paid to the government and rights of the conquered. The Romans were careful to preferve the government, the habits, and customs, of those nations which they had vanquished, considering this as the best security for their conquests.—For the present age had been reserved the idea of a war of extirpation—a war which should tend to annihilate whatever had been held most dear, or found most valu-This was a fort of war which had never been carried on even by despots, and which was only exemplified in the conduct of those modern republicans who held out a system of what they

called freedom and happiness.

One Honourable Gentleman (Major Maitland) had declared, that the whole of the danger which had been held out, and the consequent alarm which had been excited in this country, was a mere delution, effected by the artifices of the Ministry. Honourable Gentleman had at the fame time stated, that the uniform misconduct of Ministry, since they came into power, was sufficient to have occasioned all the mischiefs which had been described, and to bring any country into a state of the greatest calamity. If this was the case, he, for one, could not but re-Joice that all these mischiefs, and all this calamity, amounted to nothing more than delusion. And while the Hon. Gentleman had deprecated all the evils brought on the country by the mifconduct of Ministry, and particularly the danger of a war, to which it might be exposed, he had represented the present state of prosperity to be so great as to render it improper to go into this war. He should not attempt to reply to these arguments until they were a little more confistent, or think it necessary to give an answer to the Honourable Gentleman, till he should more clearly understand his own meaning.

Mr. Pitt faid, that he would not attempt, at fo late an hour, to detain much longer the attention of the House, and for this reason would decline going into a detail of what had been alleged by other Honourable Gentlemen. He should only advert to what had fallen from a Noble Marquis (Tichfield), who

had accused Ministry with want of care, in not having sooner profecuted those seditious publications which had occasioned so much alarm. He should only fay, that Ministers had been attacked by other Hon. Gentlemen of having gone too far in the way of profecution. He trufted it would appear, that there had been want of vigilance on the part of Ministers.-Within these two or three last years, many feditious writings had been published. but it was not till last year that they had assumed so much importance as to render them fit objects of the attention of Ministers. The Proclamation had then been issued—a measure which the Noble Marquis and others of his friends approved, in which they had engaged to co-operate; and, had it appeared to them that there were any feditious publications which had escaped attention, and ought to have been profecuted, it was their duty to have fulfilled their pledge of concurring in the measures of the Proclamation, by bringing these forward to notice. The Noble Marquis had likewife accused Ministers of having occasioned the present danger by their neglect, which they might have obviated by earlier preparation and a more speedy interference. He would only beg leave to remark, that it was not till lately that the danger had been brought near to this country and its alli-It was only the retreat of the Duke of Brunfwick, and the fuccess of the French arms, with the consequences that had followed, events fo rapid and unexpected, which it was imposfible to foresee, and which defied even the smallest conjecture, which rendered the danger fo imminent, and the necessity of preparation fo urgent on the part of this country.

The Noble Marquis had adverted to what had passed in 1784, as the cause of the present alarming circumstances in which the country was placed; and to this origin had been afcribed all the mischiefs which now existed. In the present crisis, he considered that they had a more important and preffing duty to support the Constitution, than to make a war of mere retrospect, which could not be supposed to influence the present situation of affairs, except it could be supposed that what had passed in 1784 had contributed to the French Revolution and the events which had followed. If what had then paffed had induced any man to withhold his confidence or good opinion from the prefent Minifters, it was a question into which, when there was leifure, he had no objection to enter. He trusted, that whatever personal impression might remain upon the minds of Honourable Members, that what had paffed in 1784 would not make any honest and independent Members neglect what was passing in 1793that they would all concur to meet the present emergency, by fuitable measures, to obviate the danger by the most effectual means which could be devised, and unite their strength for two

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great objects—the fafety of the country, and support of the Constitution.

The Report of the Bill was now read and agreed to. The Bill was then read a third time and passed.

Adjourned, at three o'clock in the morning, to the 7th.

JANUARY 7.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS observed, that on looking over the militia laws, he found that a clause for the relief of the widows and families of men ballotted into the militia, which formerly made a part of those laws, had been omitted in the last act but one. As he knew of no reason for this omission, he supposed it must have been accidental; and gave notice, that after the recess, he should move for leave to bring in a Bill for the restoration of this clause, the operation of which would be retrospective, and extend to all persons who would have been entitled to the benefit of it, if it had never been omitted.

The House resolved itself into a Committee of Ways and

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, that gentlemen would recollect, that last year the House had voted the growing produce of the Consolidated Fund to extend to the 5th of April, 1793, in order to defray the expences of the year 1792. He had, however, the satisfaction to inform the Committe, that the expences of the year were not only defrayed on the 5th of January, 1793, but that a surplus of 435,6961. is. 74d remained. He therefore moved, that this surplus should be applied to the services of the present year. Agreed to, and the Report ordered to be received, which it was, and agreed to.

JANUARY 8.

The House went to the Lords to see the bills passed, and afterwards adjourned to the 23d.

JANUARY 23.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS faid, that previous to his bringing forward the subject of the renewal of the Charter of the East-India Company, many documents would be necessary to be laid before the House. He then moved for copies of various accounts of the debts, assets, &c. of the Company in India for several years, which were all ordered to be laid before the House.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS then moved, That the House do, at its rising, adjourn to the 28th. And then said, that on that day he should have a communication from his Maiest.

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jesty, which would augment considerably the forces of this country.

Mr. WILBERFORCE faid he should soon bring forward the subject of the Slave Trade. He thought that the better mode would be to renew the former Resolutions of the last Session. Upon this occasion he apprehended there would be very little discussion; as the subject had already been fully debated, he at least had but sew observations to make. He thought that on the 29th this subject might be discussed.

Adjourned to the 28th.

JANUARY 28.

The House met pursuant to the last adjournment.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER made two Motions; one, that the Chaplain should be directed to preach before the House on Wednesday the 30th of January, in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster; the other, that the House, at its rising, should adjourn to Thursday the 31st. Both these Motions passed without any conversation.

The House went into a Committee of Ways and Means, Mr. HOBART in the Chair, and on the motion of Mr. ROSE, the taxes on Land, Malt, Cyder, Mum, and Perry, were voted without opposition. The House was then resumed, and ordered that the Report from the Committee should be received on Thursday the 31st.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS standing at the bar, addressed the Speaker, and informed him, that he had a written Message from his Majesty to deliver to the House: he was directed to bring it up, which he accordingly did, and delivered it to the Speaker, who read it from the Chair, the Members being uncovered. The Message was as follows:

"GEORGE R.

"His Majesty has given directions for laying before the House of Commons, Copies of several Papers which have been received from M. Chauvelin, late Minister Plenipotentiary from the Most Christian King, by His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and of the Answers returned thereto; and likewise Copies of an Order made by His Majesty in Council, and transmitted by His Majesty's Commands to the said M. Chauvelin, in consequence of the accounts of the atrocious act recently perpetrated at Paris.

"In the present situation of affairs, his Majesty thinks it indispensably necessary to make a further augmentation of his Forces by Sea and Land, and relies on the known affection and zeal of the House of Commons, to enable His Majesty to

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take the most effectual measures in the present important conjuncture, for maintaining the security and rights of his own dominions, for supporting his allies, and for opposing views of aggrandisement and ambition, on the part of France, which would be at all times dangerous to the general interests of Europe, but are particularly so, when connected with the propagation of principles which lead to the violation of the most sacred duties, and are utterly subversive of the peace and order of all civil society.

G. R."

As foon as the Speaker had read the Meffage,

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER rofe. faid that in rifing his object was merely to move, that the House would on Thursday the 31st take his Majesty's most gracious Meffage into confideration .- What would be the feelings and language of the House on that day he would not attempt to anticipate. Gentlemen would agree with him, that on fo momentous a question as was that which must arise from the communication just read from the chair, what would most become the House would be serious and solemn deliberation; and for this reason he hoped, that on the present day no debate would take place, but that the Members would referve themselves for the discussion which would come on at their meeting. He was well aware, he faid, that gentlemen would find it a difficult talk to contain their indignation, and refrain even for a moment from expressing those feelings which the atrocious deed lately perpetrated at Paris must excite in every man who had a sense of justice and humanity. He entreated them, however, to forbear till Thursday, and on that day they would have an opportunity of speaking after mature reflection and deliberation; and of speaking that language which suited men who strongly felt the fentiments of unshaken allegiance, and whose conduct was governed by principles of justice and humanity; in a word, such as would become a British House of Commons. He gave notice that it was his intention to move an Address on Thursday, on the subject of his Majesty's Message, and on Friday to move in the Committee of supply for an additional number of sea-He concluded by moving, that the House would on Thursday next take the faid message into consideration.

The EARL of WYCOMBE faid it was not his intention to take up much of the time of the House, or to anticipate the debate which was to take place on Thursday next; he had strong reasons for not going far into that subject on that day; for whilst on the one hand he was of opinion that nothing which even the abless man could say against a war could make any impression

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on the House, influenced as it might well be supposed to be by an honest indignation at the atrocious scene which had taken place in Paris, and which, under all its circumstances, was unparalleled in the annals of the world, so, on the other hand, he was too conscious of his own want of abilities to undertake what he knew to be so far above them. He was resolved, however, even at that early opportunity, to deliver his sentiments on one part of the Message, which related to the probability of approaching hostilities against France.

It was at present, he said, but too plain, that his apprehensions of a war with that country were about to be realized; and he was free to declare, that from the conduct of Ministers, it appeared to him to be desired and provoked by them. From the papers laid upon the table by the Secretary of State, it was clear, from the insolence of their language, that conciliation, and a continuation of peace, were not the objects which they had in view; that whilst they haughtily affected to decline all communication with France, they had in fact treated with her, and had received such explanation as would have satisfied men not already

determined upon war,

On these grounds it was that he declared his opinion freely, that the war was not, on our part, a war of necessity, or of aggrandizement, or of ambition, but a war against liberty and the principles of freedom; and that England was about to exhibit a political phænomenon to the world, -a free nation entering into a contest in support of despotism. That this war might have been avoided, was evident from the explanations of France, and her declarations of a fincere disposition to maintain a good understanding with Great Britain; that it ought to have been avoided was no less evident from a variety of circumstances, from the flate of the trade of this country, and from the very delicate and precarious state of a fister kingdom; he therefore could not give his countenance to a war, at once unnecessary and dangerous.— This, he faid, was an outline of his principles, and of his opinions on these different points, on which perhaps he might descant more at large on some other day. It was probable that the Right Honourable Gentleman might think that he dealt in paradoxes; if he did deal in such articles, he bore the greater resemblance to that Right Honourable Gentleman, who, when he was preaching up the most paradoxical doctrines, was so modest as to declare that he would not accept of any subordinate fituation in the Government. As for his part, he (Lord Wycombe) being fully convinced of his own want of abilities, looked neither to a high nor a low office in the state; but he would endeavour to maintain the character, which the Right Honourable Gentleman had never attained, that of an independent

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dent Member of Parliament, pursuing what he thought to be for the good of his country, and not bowing to the nod or authority of any man or fet of men whatever. He was forry to be thus obliged to take up so much of the time of the House, in speaking about so inconsiderable an individual as himself: but he was anxious that his opinions should neither be misinterpreted nor misunderstood.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER begged leave to make a short observation on what had fallen from the Noble Lord; it was not his intention to act to irregularly as to go into a reply upon topics which were not yet fairly under confideration, and which would be discussed with far greater propriety on Thursday next. But he must observe that the Noble Lord's reluctance to make himself the subject of his own speech could not but strike Gentlemen as pretty singular, it not appearing that any thing had been faid or done to make the Noble Lord do that to which he would be thought to feel fo much There was no allusion to the Noble Lord or his reluctance. principles in his Majesty's Message, or in the motion for taking it into confideration on Thursday next: his reluctance therefore to do what was not called for by any thing before the House might be said to favour not a little of the paradox. For his own part he was determined not to anticipate the debate which would take place on Thursday; but he was glad that the Noble Lord had given the House ground for hoping, that on lome other occasion he would afford an opportunity for difcuffing the topics which he had touched upon for the prefent; when that day should come, he affured the Noble Lord he should find him ready to give him a complete reply to all that he had faid that day; if, therefore, he was filent on those points for the present, he begged it might not be understood that he was filent because the Noble Lord's arguments were unanswerable, but because that was not the proper time for answering them; and he further affured the Noble Lord, that whenever he (Lord Wycombe) should bring any charge against him, he would not take ten days to think of an answer.

Mr. DRAKE faid, that he rose in the cause and name of human nature, to second the feelings, the humanity, the indignation, and even the filence of the House, on the horrid deed that had been done at Paris; and to support the cause of justice,

of principle, of morality, of humanity, and religion.

Mr. FOX faid, he agreed perfectly with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the question arising out of the King's Mellage was truly momentous, and that the answer to it ought to be the refult of mature deliberation. Nevertheless, he was not surprised that the Noble Lord should be anxious to express his ientiments

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fentiments on the subject even in that early stage of the husiness. The Message souched upon two principal points, on either of which it was very natural that Gentlemen thould feel a strong disposition to speak. One related to the melancholy event, which to powerfully affected every lover of justice and humanity; it was not surprising that a member should embrace the very first opportunity to express his abborrence of the detestable scene which had lately taken place at Paris. The other intimated the probability of a war; and it was also natural that Gentlemen, who confidered the war as not called for by any principle of felfdefence or necessity, would, notwithstanding the irregularity of the proceeding which the chair could not at all times reprefs, declare their disapprobation of the measure, before it was fairly under the discussion of the House. The conduct of the Noble Lord was therefore by no means furprising or reprehensible. With respect to the talents of the Right Honourable Gentleman, and of the Noble Lord, he would fay, that as the latter did not stand in need of ten days to devise arguments in support of his opinions, to the former certainly did not require that length of time to make a reply to them. He was glad that the answer to the melfage was not to be proposed that day, for it was extremely proper in every point of view, that gentlemen should have time to turn in their minds a subject of such magnitude, before they were called upon to give a decided opinion, which would lead to the most serious consequences.

Here the question was put on Mr. Pitt's motion, which was carried without opposition; and the House adjourned to Thurs-

day the 31st.

THE FOLLOWING STATE PAPERS WERE LAID BEFORE THE HOUSE, FOR THE PERUSAL OF THE MEMBERS; of which we have obtained an authentic Copy, for the Accommodation of our Readers.

(No. 1.)

Translation of a Note delivered by Monsieur Chanvelin to Lord Grenville, May 12, 1792.

THE underligned Minister Plenipotentiary of his Majelty the King of the French, is ordered by his Court to transmit to his Excellency Lord Grenville, Secretary of State to His Britannic Majesty for the Department of Foreign Affairs, the following note:

The King of the French, in fending a Minister Plenipotentiary to London, has especially charged him to commence his mission by manifesting to the British Government the powerful

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reasons which have determined France to a war with the King of Hungary and Bohemia. He has thought that he owes this manifestation to the purity of the intentions which animate him, as well as to the laws of good neighbourhood, and to the value which he attaches to every thing which may maintain confidence and friendship between two empires, who have at this moment, more than ever, reasons for drawing near each other, and uniting themselves together.

Having become king of a free nation, after having fworn to support the constitution it has given herself, he cannot but deeply feel all the attacks defigned against that constitution; and his probity alone would have induced him to prevent and combat

them.

The king has feen a great conspiracy formed against France, the agents of this league concealing, under an infulting pity for him, the preparations of their defigns; and his majesty has had the grief to count amongst them Frenchmen, whose fidelity appeared to be guaranteed by fo many powerful motives and private

The King has not been sparing of the means of persuasion to bring them back to their duty, and to break this threatening league, which supported and strengthened their guilty hopes. But the Emperor Leopold, the promoter and declared leader of this great conspiracy, and after his decease Francis, King of Hungary and Bohemia, have never fincerely answered any of

the candid and reiterated demands of the King.

After being wearied by delays and vague answers, the impatience of the French increasing daily by new provocations, those princes have fuccessively avowed the coalition of the powers against France—They never justified themselves for the part they had taken in it, or for that they were still taking. Far from shewing themselves disposed to dissolve it by their influence, they have fought to connect it with facts, which in the first place were foreign to it, and upon which France has never refuled doing justice to the interested parties. And, as if the King of Hungary were defirous of confecrating the perpetuity of the attack he makes on the fovereignty of the French empire, he has declared that this coalition, equally injurious to the King and to the Nation, could not ceafe until France should remove the serious causes which had give rife to it, that is to say, so long as France, jealous of her independence, would not give up the imallest point of her new constitution.

Such an answer, preceded and supported by preparations most evidently hostile, and by an ill-concealed protection of the rebels, must have appeared to the National Assembly, to the King, and to all France, as a manifest aggression; for it is commencing war to announce that troops are affembled and called in all quarters, in order to constrain the inhabitants of a country to alter the form of government which they have freely chosen, and sworn to defend.

Such is the fense, and as it were the substance, of all the evafive answers of the Emperor and King of Hungary's Ministers, to the simple and candid explanations which the king required

of them.

Thus the king faw himself forced into a war, which was already declared against him; but, religiously faithful to the principles of the constitution, whatever may finally be the fate of arms in this war, France rejects all ideas of aggrandizement.—She will preserve her limits, her liberty, her constitution, her inalienable right of reforming herself, whenever she may think proper: she will never consent that, under any relation, foreign powers should attempt to dictate, or even dare to nourish a hope of dictating laws to her.—But this very pride, so natural and so just, is a sure pledge to all the powers, from whom she shall have received no provocation, not only of her constantly pacific dispositions, but also of the respect which the French will know how to shew, at all times, for the laws, the customs, and all the forms of government of different nations.

The king, indeed, wishes it to be known, that he would publicly and severely disavow all those of his agents at foreign courts in peace with France, who should dare to depart an instant from that respect, either by somenting or savouring insurrections against the established order, or by interfering in any manner whatever in the interior policy of such states, under pretence of a proselytism, which, exercised in the dominions of friendly powers, would be a real violation of the law of nations.

The king hopes that the British Government will see in this exposition the incontrovertible justice, and the necessity of the war, which the French nation maintains against the King of Hungary and Bohemia; and that he will moreover find in it that common principle of liberty and independence, of which they ought not to be less jealous than France. For England is free likewise, because she is determined to be so; and assuredly she did not suffer other powers to attempt to compel her to alter the constitution she had adopted, to lend the smallest assistance to rebellious subjects, or pretend to interfere, under any pretence, in her interior disputes.

Persuaded that His Britannic Majesty is not less ardently defirous than himself of seeing the good understanding and union between the two countries consolidated and strengthened, the king demands, that, conformably to the 4th Article of the Treaty of Navigation and Commerce of the 26th Sepcount cife ag by cru or lett or sha of su

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tember, 1786, His Britannic Majesty shall remind all his subjects of Great Britain and Ireland, and publish it in the accustomed manner, in those two kingdoms, and in the islands and countries dependent upon them, an express prohibition to exercise against France, or against the ships of France, any hostility, by cruizing on the seas, or to take out any patent, commission, or letters of reprisals, from the different princes or states who are or shall be at war with France; or to make use, in any manner, of such patents or commissions.

The king requires besides, that all the articles of the afore-said treaty, which relate to the case of one of the contracting powers being at war, and especially the 3d, 16th, 24th, 39th, 40th, and 41st Articles, shall be punctually observed and executed, in the same manner as his Majesty is determined to act on

his part, respecting all the stipulations of this treaty.

The Minister Plenipotentiary of France,

London, 12th May, 1792, 4th Year of French Liberty,

CHAUVELIN.

(No. 2.)

Translation of a Note from Lord Grenville to Monsieur Chauvelin, dated May 24th, 1792.

The under-figned Secretary of State to the King has had the Honour of laying before his Majesty the official note which Monsieur Chauvelin transmitted to him the 15th instant.—He has orders to testify to that Minister how truly sensible his Majesty ever is to the proofs of friendship and considence which he receives on the part of his Most Christian Majesty, and with how much sincerity he returns them by sentiments perfectly reci-

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His Majesty could not learn without the deepest regret that a war has broken out between his Most Christian Majesty and his Majesty the King of Hungary and Bohemia. This sentiment is equally inspired by his love for humanity, by the interest he takes in maintaining the tranquillity of Europe, and by his sincere wishes for the personal happiness of their Most Christian and Apostolic Majesties, and for the prosperity of their dominions. In the present circumstances he thinks it right to abstain from entering into a discussion of the motives and the steps on each side which have brought on a rupture so afflicting to a Sovereign, the neighbour and friend of the two belligerent parties.

Confining himself therefore to expressions of the wishes he will never cease to form for the speedy and permanent re-esta-

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blishment of peace, he does not hesitate, however, to give to his Most Christian Majesty the direct and positive assurance of his readiness to fulfil in the most exact manner the stipulations of the treaty of navigation and commerce of which his Most Christian Majesty requires the execution.

Faithful to all his engagements, his Majesty will pay the Arictest attention to the good understanding which so happily fubfifts between him and his Most Christian Majesty; expecting with confidence, that, animated with the same sentiments, his Most Christian Majesty will not fail to contribute to the same end, by causing on his part the rights of his Majesty and his allies to be respected, and by rigorously forbidding any step which might affect the friendship which his Majesty has ever defired to confolidate and perpetuate for the happiness of the two empires. (Signed) GRENVILLE.

Whitehall, 24 May, 1792.

(No. 3.)

Translation of a Note from Monsieur Chauvelin to Lord Grenville, May 24th, 1792.

The underlighed Minister Plenipotentiary from the King of the French to his Britannic Majesty, has the honour to state to his excellency Lord Grenville, Minister of state for foreign affairs,

That the royal proclamation published the 21st of this month, and communicated to the two Houses of Parliament, contains fome expressions which might, contrary to the intentions of the British Ministry, give weight to the false opinions which the enemies of France endeavour to circulate with respect to her intentions towards Great Britain.

If certain individuals of this country have established a correfpondence abroad, tending to excite troubles therein, and if, as the Proclamation feems to infinuate, certain Frenchmen have come into their views, that is a proceeding wholly foreign to the French Nation, to the Legislative Body, to the King, and to his Ministers; it is a proceeding of which they are entirely ignorant, which militates against every principle of justice, and which, whenever it became known, would be univerfally condemned in France.—Independently of those principles of justice, from which a free people ought never to deviate, is it not evident, from a due consideration of the true interests of the French Nation, that she ought to desire the interior tranquillity, the continuance and the force of the constitution of a country which the already looks upon as her natural ally?

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Is not this the only reasonable wish, which a people can form, which sees so many efforts united against its liberty? The Minister Plenipotentiary, deeply sensible of these truths, and of the maxims of universal morality upon which they are founded, had already represented them in an official Note, which he transmitted to the British Ministry the 15th of this month, by the express orders of his court; and he thinks it his duty to repeat, on the

present occasion, the important declarations it contains:

"Religiously faithful to the principles of its constitution, " whatever may be definitively the fortune of her arms in this "war, France repels every idea of aggrandizement; the withes " to preferve her own limits, her liberty, her constitution, and "her inalienable right of reforming herfelf, whenever the thall " judge proper: She will never confent that foreign powers " should in any shape dictate, or should dare to nourish a hope of "dictating laws to her; but this very pride, so natural and so "just, is a pledge to all the powers from whom she shall have " received no provocation, not only of her constantly pacific dif-" positions, but also of the respect which the French will at " all times know how to pay to the laws, the usages, and all the "forms of government of different people. The king also de-" fires that it may be known, that he would disavow, decidedly " and severely, all those of his agents in foreign courts at peace " with France, who might dare to deviate a moment from this " respect, either by fomenting, or by favouring revolts against "the established order, or by interfering in any manner what-"ever in the internal politics of those states, under pretence of " making profelytes, which, exercised towards friendly powers, " would be a real violation of the law of nations.

"The king hopes that the British Government will see in this exposition the incontrovertible justice, and the necessity of the war, which the French nation carries on against the King of Hungary and Bohemia, and that it will further find therein, that common principle of liberty and independence, of which it ought not to be less jealous than France; for England also is free, because she would be so, and certainly she has not suffered that other powers should constrain her to change the constitution which she has adopted, that they should lend the least affistance to her rebellious subjects, nor that they should pretend to interfere, under any pretext, in her internal

" discussions."

The honour of France, her defire of preserving and augmenting a good understanding between the two countries, and the necessity of clearing up every doubt as to her dispositions, requiring that they should be as publicly known as possible, the understand Minister Plenipotentiary requests that Lord Grenville M m would

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would communicate the official note to the two Houses of Parliament, previous to their deliberating on the proclamation of his Britannic Majesty of the 21st of May. He seizes this opportunity of renewing to his Excellency the affurances of his high efteem and respect.

The Minister Plenipotentiary of France,

(Signed) F. CHAUVELIN.

London, May 24th, 1792. Fourth Year of French Liberty.

(No. 4.)

Translation of a Letter from Lord Grenville to Monsieur Chauvelin, May 25th, 1792.

WHITEHALL, 25th May, 1792.

I have already had the honour, Sir, to acknowledge the receipt of the note which you addressed to me, dated yester-

Defiring with ardour and fincerity to maintain, in all the affairs that I may have the honour to treat with you, that harmony and cordiality which correspond with the intentions of the King, it is with regret that I find myfelf under the necessity of making to you the following observations upon the subject of that paper.—I am perfuaded that it was not at all your intention to deviate from the rules and forms established in this kingdom for the correspondence of the ministers of foreign courts with the King's Secretary of State for this department. But it was impossible for me not to remark that in your last note, the only question relates to a communication which you defire me to make to the two Houses of Parliament, before they deliberate upon an object which you appear to believe they were about to discuss. It is necessary for me to observe to you, Sir, that in my quality of Secretary of State to His Majesty, I cannot receive any communication from a foreign minister, but in order to by it before the King, and to receive His Majesty's commands thereupon; and that the deliberations of the two Houses of Parliament, as well as the communications which His Majelty shall be pleased to make to them, relative to the affairs of the kingdom, are objects absolutely foreign to all diplomatic correfpondence, and upon which it is impossible for me to enter into any discussion whatever with the ministers of other courts.

This, Sir, is the only answer which it will be possible for me to return to the note in question; which, as well in its form as in its object, cannot be considered as a regular and offTranfl

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cial communication. I shall always feel the greatest pleasure in reporting to His Majesty the assurances which you may be authorised to give me for that purpose, of the friendly dispositions of your court; and I desire you to accept the expression of the esteem and high regard with which I have the honour to be, &c.

GRENVILLE.

(No. 5.)

Translation of a Letter from Monsieur Chauvelin to Lord Grenville, May 25th, 1792.

PORTMAN SQUARE, May 25th, 1792.

I have this moment, my Lord, received the letter which you have done me the honour to write to me on the subject of the note which I sent you yesterday, the 24th instant. I have the honour to thank you for the obliging manner in which it is expressed. You have done justice to my intentions, in believing that I did not intend to depart from the established rules and forms of this kingdom.

I by no means thought, when I presented that note to you, that the demand contained in it ought not, as well as all others, to be laid before the King of Great Britain; it was expressly in the intention of giving to his Majesty fresh affurances of deference and respect for the British Government, that I did myself the honour of making that last notification: and it being my desire to make this manifestation of the dispositions of the French Government as public as possible, I thought it best to beg you to communicate it to both Houses of Parliament.

By making this request, my Lord, I intended to obviate the salse interpretations which might be occasioned in the two Houses, by the article of the Proclamation which is the subject of it; I flattered myself by this means to contribute towards the maintenance of that harmony, and of that cordiality between the two states, of which I with joy remarked the expression in the assurance which you gave me, that it is no less defired by his Britannic Majesty, than by the King of the French.

As to the rest, my Lord, any other form which it may suit you to adopt, and which may render very public the sentiments of France, her true dispositions with regard to England, and the orders which I have received from the King of the French, and which I have communicated to you, will equally answer the wish of the French Government.

Please to accept the homage of the esteem, and of the high consideration with which I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

F. CHAUVELIN.

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(No. 6.)

Translation of a Note from Monsieur Chauvelin to Lord Grenvilles received June 2d, 1792.

The underlighted Minister Plenipotentiary from the King of the French to his Britannic Majesty, has the honour to state to his Excellency Lord Grenville, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, That the Royal Proclamation, published the 21st of this month, and communicated to the two Houses of Parliament, contains fome expressions which might, contrary to the intentions of the British Ministry, give weight to the false opinions which the enemies of France endeavour to circulare with respect to her intentions towards Great Britain.

If certain individuals of this country have established a correspondence abroad tending to excite troubles therein, and if, as the Proclamation feems to infinuate, certain Frenchmen have come into their views, that is a proceeding wholly foreign to the French nation, to the legislative body, to the king, and to his ministers; it is a proceeding of which they are entirely ignorant, which militates against every principle of juffice, and which, whenever it became known, would be univerfally condemned in France. Independently of those principles of justice from which a free people ought never to deviate, is it not evident, from a due consideration of the true interests of the French nation, that she ought to defire the interior tranquillity, the continuance, and the force of the constitution of a country which she already looks upon as her natural ally? Is not this the only reasonable with which people can form, who fee fo many efforts united against its liberty? The Minister Plenipotentiary, deeply sensible of these truths, and of the maxims of universal morality upon which they are founded, had already represented them in an offcial note, which he transmitted to the British Ministry the 15th of this month, by the express orders of his court, and he thinks it his duty to repeat, on the prefent occasion, the important declarations which it contains.

" Religiously faithful to the principles of its constitution, "whatever may be definitively the fortune of her army in this " war, France repels every idea of aggrandifement; the withes " to preserve her own limits, her liberty, her constitution, and

" her unalienable right of reforming herfelf whenever she shall " judge proper; the will never confent that foreign powers

" should in any shape dictate, or should dare to nourish a hope " of dictating laws to her. But this very pride, so natural and " fo just, is a pledge to all the powers from whom she shall

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" cific dispositions, but also of the respect which the French "will at all times know how to pay to the laws, the " usages, and all the forms of government of different people. "The king also desires that it may be known, that he would " difavow, decidedly and feverely, all those of his agents in fo-" reign courts at peace with France, who might dare to deviate " a moment from this respect, either by fomenting or by favour-"ing revolts against the established order, or by interfering in " any manner whatever in the internal politics of those states, " under pretext of making profelytes, which, exercised towards " friendly powers, would be a real violation of the law of " nations.

"The king hopes that the British Government will see, in " this exposition, the incontrovertible justice and the necessity " of the war which the French nation carries on against the "King of Hungary and Bohemia, and that it will further find "therein that common principle of liberty and independence, " of which it ought not to be less jealous than France: for "England also is free, because she would be so; and certainly " she has not suffered that other powers should constrain her to "change the constitution which she has adopted; that they " should lend the least affistance to her rebellious subjects; nor "that they thould pretend to interfere, under any pretext, in " her internal discussions."

The honour of France, her defire of preferving and augmenting a good understanding between the two countries, and the necellity of clearing up every doubt as to her dispositions, requiring that they should be as publicly known as possible, the underfigned Minister Plenipotentiary requests that Lord Grenville. would obtain his Britannic Majesty's permission to communicate this official note to the two Houses of Parliament, previous to their deliberating on the Proclamation of the 21st of May.

He feizes this opportunity of renewing to his Excellency the

affurances of his efteem and respect.

The Minister Plenipotentiary of France.

(Signed) F. CHAUVELIN.

(No. 7.)

Translation of a Note from Monsieur Chawvelin to Lord Grenville. dated June 18th, 1792.

The underligned Minister Plenipotentiary of his Majesty the King of the French has transmitted to his Majesty the official note which Lord Grenville addressed to him on the 24th of May last, on the part of his Britannic Majesty, in answer to that

that which he had the honour to deliver to him on the 15th of the same month, together with the Royal Proclamation published in consequence of it. He is directed to affure his Britannic Majesty of the due sense which the King entertains of the friendly dispositions, and of the sentiments of humanity, of justice, and of peace, which are so clearly manifested in that

The king of the French observed with care all its expressions, and is happy in consequence to renew to the King of Great Britain the formal affurance, that every thing which can interest the rights of his Britannic Majesty will continue to be the object of

his most particular and most scrupulous attention.

He hastens at the same time to declare to him, conformably to the defire expressed in that answer, that the rights of all the allies of Great Britain, who shall not have provoked France by hostile measures, shall by him be no less religiously respected.

In making, or rather in renewing this declaration, the king of the French enjoys the double satisfaction of expressing the wish of a people, in whose eyes every war which is not rendered necessary by a due attention to its defence is essentially unjust, and of joining particularly in the wishes of his Britannic Majesty for the tranquillity of Europe, which would never be disturbed if France and England would unite in order to preferve it.

But this declaration of the king's, and the dispositions of his Britannic Majesty, authorize him to hope that he will be induced eagerly to employ his good offices with those allies to disfuade them from granting, directly or indirectly, any affiftance to the enemies of France, and to inspire them with regard to its rights, that is to fay, its independence, with those attentions which France is ready to manifest on every occasion for the rights of all powers who shall observe towards her the terms of

a strict neutrality.

The steps taken by the cabinet of Vienna, amongst the different powers, and principally amongst the allies of his Britannic Majesty, in order to engage them in a quarrel which is foreign to them, are known to all Europe. If public report were to be credited, its successes at the Court of Berlin prepare the way for others in the United Provinces. The threats held out to the different members of the Germanic Body, to make them deviate from that wife neutrality which their political fituation, and their dearest interests, prescribe to them; the arrangements taken with different fovereigns of Italy to determine them to act hostilely against France; and lastly, the intrigues by which Russia has just been induced to arm against the constitution of Poland; every thing points out fresh marks of a vast conspiracy against

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free flates, which feem to threaten to precipitate Europe in universal war.

The confequences of fuch a conspiracy, formed by the concurmice of powers who have been to long rivals, will be easily felt by his Britannic Majesty: the balance of Europe, the independence of the different powers, the general peace, every confideration which at all times has fixed the attention of the Englishment government, is at once exposed and threatened.

The king of the French presents these serious and important considerations to the solicitude and to the friendship of his Britannic Majesty. Strongly penetrated with the marks of interest and of affection which he has received from him, he invites him to feek, in his wisdom, in his fituation, and in his influence, means compatible with the independence of the French nation, to stop, whilst it is still time, the progress of that confederacy, which equally threatens the peace, the liberty, the happinels, of Europe, and above all to diffuade from all accession to this project those of his allies whom it may be wished to draw into it, or who may have been already even drawn into it from fear, seduction, and different pretexts of the falsest as well as of the most odious policy.

The Minister Plenipotentiary of France,

Portman Square, June 18th, 1792; the 4th Year of Liberty.

F. CHAUVELIN. (Signed)

(No. 8.)

Translation of a Note from Lord Grenville to Monsieur Chauvelin. July 8th, 1792.

The underligned Secretary of State to his Majesty has had the honour to lay before his Majesty the note which Monsieur

Chauvelin fent him the 18th of June.

The King always receives with the same sensibility from his Most Christian Majesty the affurances of his friendship, and of his disposition to maintain that happy harmony which subsists between the two empires. His Majesty will never refuse to concur in the prefervation or re-establishment of peace between the other powers of Europe, by fuch means as are proper to produce that effect, and are compatible with his dignity, and with the principles which govern his conduct. But the same sentiments which have determined him not to take a part in the internal affairs of France, ought equally to induce him to respect the rights and the independence of other fovereigns, and especially those of his allies; and his Majesty has thought that, in the existing circumilances of the war now begun, the intervention of his couneils, or of his good offices, cannot be of use, unless they should be

defired by all the parties interested.

Nothing then remains for the underligned, but to repeat to Monfieur Chauvelin the affurances of those wishes which his Majesty forms for the return of tranquillity, of the interest which he will always take in the happiness of his Most Christian Majesty; and of the value which he attaches to his friendship, and to the considence which he has shewn him.

Whitehall, 8th July, 1792.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

(No. 9.)

Translation of a Note from Monsieur Chawvelin to Lord Grenville, 19th November, 1792.

Monsieur Chauvelin has the honour to present his respects to Lord Grenville; and requests that he would, as soon
as possible, grant him amoment's conversation, and that he would
appoint for that purpose the hour and the place, either in town
or country, at which it would be least inconvenient to him to
meet him.

Portman Square, the 19th of November, 1792-

(No. 10.)

Translation of a Note from Lord Grenville to Monsieur Chauvelin, November 21st, 1792.

Lord Grenville presents his compliments to Monsieur Chauvelin. He received yesterday evening the Note which Monsieur Chauvelin addressed to him, dated the 19th of this month: before he can answer it, he must, under the present circumstances, request Monsieur Chauvelin will be pleased to explain to him the object of the conference which he has desired.

Whitehall, November 21st, 1792.

(No. 11.)

Translation of a Note from Monsieur Chauvelin to Lord Grenville, November 22d, 1792.

Monsieur Chauvelin has the honour to present his compliments to Lord Grenville. He thought that the private conversation which he had the honour to propose to him a few days since, could not, in the present circumstances, without any inconveniency, but have produced advantageous effects: if Lord Grenville

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Grenville thinks otherwise, and considers such an interview as useless at this moment, Monsieur Chauvelin will not insist upon it; and will only regret that he has not been able to seize this opportunity of offering his respects to Lord Greaville, and of renewing to him assurances of his esteem.

Portman Square, the 22d November, 1792.

LORD GRENVILLE. So talkered to frequency of the hadren

(No. 12.)

Translation of a Letter from Lord Grenville to Monsieur Chauvelin, November 28th, 1792.

WHITEHALL, November 28th, 1792.

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I could have wished that you had thought yourself enabled to satisfy the desire which I expressed to you, of knowing the object of the conference you demanded of me some days ago: but as, on reslecting on the situation of affairs, I have thought with you, that the private conversation you proposed to me may be useful under the existing circumstances, I will not result it.

I will beg of you to be so good as to come to the Office for Foreign Affairs to-morrow at noon, if that hour should be convenient to you.

In the mean time I renew to you the affurance of the diffurguished regard with which I have the honour to be, &c.

GRENVILLE.

Monsteur Chauvelin.

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Translation of a Note from Monsieur Chauvelin to Lord Grenville, December 27th, 1792.

> PORTMAN SQUARE, Dec. 27th, 1792, the First Year of the Republic.

The underligned Minister Plenipotentiary of France has the honour to communicate to his Excellency Lord Grenville the instructions which he has received from the Executive Council of the French Republic, with orders to lay them before his Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State for the department of Foreign Affairs, in case he should believe that he could not sufficiently soon obtain an interview with that Minister.

The French Government, by continuing, fince the secal of Lord Gower from Paris, to leave at London its Minister Plenipotentiary, conceived that it gave his Britannic Majesty an unequivocal

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equivocal proof of the defire it had to continue to live upon good terms with him, and to dispel those clouds, which the events necessary and inherent to the internal regulations of France, appeared at that time to have occasioned. The intentions of the Executive Council of France, with regard to England, have not ceased to be the same; but it has not been able to see with indifference the public conduct which the British Ministry maintains at present towards France. It is with regret that it has remarked in this conduct, a character of ill-will, to which it is yet unwilling to give credit. It has however felt, that its duty to the French nation required it no longer to leave it in a flate of uncertainty, into which it had been thrown by feveral meafures recently adopted by the British Government-an uncertainty which must be shared by the British nation, and which is equally unworthy of both countries.

The Executive Council of the French Republic has, in confequence, authorised the Minister of France, at London, to demand with openness of the Ministers of his Britannic Majesty, if France ought to confider England as a neutral power, or as an enemy? and it has especially charged him to obtain a definitive

answer upon this point.

But, in asking from the Ministers of his Britannic Majesty, a frank and open explanation as to their intentions with regard to France, the Executive Council is unwilling they should have the smallest remaining doubt as to the disposition of France towards England, and as to its defire of remaining in peace with her; it has even been defirous of answering beforehand all the reproaches which they may be tempted to make in justification

of a rupture.

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On reflecting what may be the reasons which may determine his Britannic Majesty to break with the French Republic, the Executive Council has been able to find no other than a false interpretation, which is, perhaps, given to the Decree of the National Convention of the 19th of November. If a real alarm has been occasioned by this Decree, it can have arisen only for want of understanding its true sense. The National Convention never meant that the French Republic should favour infurrections, thould espouse the quarrels of a few seditious perfons, or, in a word, should endeavour to excite disturbances in any neutral or friendly country whatever. Such an idea would be rejected by all the French. It cannot be imputed to the National Convention without doing it injustice. This Decree, then, is applicable only to those people, who, after having acquired their liberty by conquest, may have demanded the fraternity, the affistance of the Republic, by the solemn and unequivocal expression of the general will. - no me whigher own and and over it had become to with France

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France ought and will respect, not only the independence of England, but even that of those of her allies, with whom the is not at war. The under-figned has therefore been charged formally to declare, that the will not attack Holland, fo long as that power shall, on its side, confine itself towards her within

the bounds of an exact neutrality.

The British Government being thus fet at its ease upon thefe two points, no pretence for the smallest difficulty could remain, except as to the question of the opening of the Scheldt, a question irrevocably decided by Reason and by Justice, of small importance in itself, and on which the opinion of England, and perhaps of Holland itself, is sufficiently known, to render it difficult feriously to make it the single subject of a war. Should, however, the British Ministry avail itself of this last motive, as a cause of declaring war against France, would it not, in such case, be probable, that its secret intention must have been, at all events, to bring on a rupture; and that it made use, at the prefent moment, of the vainest of all pretences, to colour an unjust

aggression, long ago determined upon ?

On this unfortunate supposition, which the Executive Council rejects, the under-figned would be authorifed forcibly to fupport the dignity of the French people, and to declare with firmnels, that this free and powerful people will accept the war, and repel with indignation an aggression so manifestly unjust, and so little provoked on its part. When every explanation, calculated to demonstrate the purity of the intentions of France, when all peaceable and conciliatory measures shall have been exhausted by her, it is evident that all the weight, all the responsibility of the war, will fall fooner or later on those who shall have provoked it. It will, in fact, be nothing but a war of the Administration alone against the French Republic; and if this truth could for a moment appear doubtful, it would not perhaps be impoffible for France speedily to convince of this a nation, which, in bestowing its confidence, has never renounced the exercise of its reason, or its respect for truth and justice.

Such are the instructions which the under-figned has received orders to communicate officially to his Excellency Lord Grenville; inviting him, as well as the whole Council of his Britannic Majesty, to weigh, with the most serious attention, the declarations and the demands which they contain. It is evident that the French nation is defirous of maintaining peace with England; the affords a proof of this, by lending herfelf frankly and openly to diffipate all the fuspicions which so many different pathons and prejudices are unceafingly at work to raife up against her; but the more the shall have done to convince all Europe of the purity of her views, and of the justice of her inten-

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tions, the more will the have a right to expect no longer to be

denstood.

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The under-figured has orders to demand a written answer to the present note. He hopes that the Ministers of his Britannic Majesty will be brought back by the explanations which it contains, to ideas more favourable to the re-union of the two countries, and that they will not have occasion, for the purpose of returning to them, to confider the terrible responsibility of a declaration of war, which will incontestibly be their own work, the consequences of which cannot be otherwise than fatal to the two countries, and to human nature in general, and in which a generous and free people cannot long confent to betray their own interests, by serving as an auxiliary and a reinforcement to a tyrannical coalition.

> F. CHAUVELIN. (Signed)

(No. 14.)

Translation of a Letter from Lord Grenville to Monsteur Chauvelin, dated Whitchall, December 31ft, 1792.

WHITEHALL, December 31, 1792.

L have received, Sir, from you a note, in which, stiling powelelf Minister Plenipotentiary of France, you communicate to me, as the King's Secretary of State, the instructions which you have to have yourfelf received from the Executive Council of the French Republic. You are not ignorant, that fince the unhappy events of the 10th of August, the king has thought proper to suspend all official communication with France. You are yourself no otherwise accredited to the king, than in the name of his most Christian Majesty. The proposition of receiving a minister accredited by any other authority or power in France, would be a new question, which, whenever it should eccur, the king would have the right to decide according to the interests of his subjects, his own dignity, and the regard which he owes to his allies, and to the general system of Europe. I am therefore to inform you, Sir, in express and formal terms, that I acknowledge you in no other public character than that of minister from his most Christian Majesty, and that consequently you cannot be admitted to treat with the King's Ministers in the quality and under the form stated in your note.

But observing that you have entered into explanations of some of the circumstances which have given to England such strong grounds of uneafmers and jealoufy, and that you speak of these explanations as being of a nature to bring our two countries nearer, I have been unwilling to convey to you the notification

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flated above, without, at the fame time, explaining myfelf clearly and diffinctly on the fubject of what you have communicated to me, though under a form which is neither regular nor official.

Your explanations are confined to three points.

The first is that of the decree of the National Convention of the 19th November, in the expressions of which, all England faw the formal declaration of a defign to extend univerfally the new principles of government adopted in France, and to encourage disorder and revolt in all countries, even in those which are neutral. If this interpretation, which you represent as injurious to the Convention, could admit of any doubt, it is but too well justified by the conduct of the Convention itself; and the application of these principles to the king's dominions has been thewn unequivocally, by the public reception given to the promoters of fedition in this country, and by the speeches made to them precisely at the time of this decree, and fince on several different occasions.

Yet notwithstanding all these proofs, supported by other circumfrances which are but too notorious, it would have been with pleasure that we should have seen here such explanations and fuch a conduct as would have fatisfied the dignity and honour of England with respect to what has already passed; and would have offered a fufficient fecurity in future for the maintenance of that respect towards the rights, the government, and the tranquillity of neutral powers, which they have on every account the right

Neither this fatisfaction, nor this fecunity, is found in the terms of an explanation which still declares to the promoters of fedition in every country, what are the cases in which they may count beforehand on the support and succour of France; and which referves to that country the right of mixing herfelf in our internal affairs, whenever the shall judge it proper, and on principles incompatible with the political institutions of all the countries of Europe. No one can avoid perceiving how much a declaration like this is calculated to encourage diforder and revolt in every country. No one can be ignorant how contrary it is to the respect which is reciprocally due from independent nations, nor how repugnant to those principles which the king has followed on his part, by abitaining at all times from any interference whatever in the internal affairs of France; and this contrast is alone inflicient to shew, not only that England cannot consider such an explanation as fatisfactory, but that the must look upon it as a fresh avowal of those dispositions which she sees with so just an uneafiness and jealousy ported the of any

proceed to the two other points of your explanation, which concern the general disposition of France with regard to the allies

of Great Britain, and the conduct of the Convention and its officers relative to the Scheldt. The declaration which you there make, that France will not attack Holland fo long as that power shall observe an exact neutrality, is conceived nearly in the same terms with that which you was charged to make in the name of his Most Christian Majesty, in the month of June last. Since that first declaration was made, an officer, stating himself to be employed in the fervice of France, has openly violated both the territory and the neutrality of the Republic, in going up the Scheldt to attack the citadel of Antwerp, notwithstanding the determination of the government not to grant this paffage, and the formal protest by which they opposed it. Since the same declaration was made, the Convention has thought itself authorifed to annul the rights of the Republic exercised within the limits of its own territory, and enjoyed by virtue of the fame treaties by which her independence is fecured; and at the very moment when, under the name of an amicable explanation, you renew to me in the fame terms the promife of respecting the independence and the rights of England and her allies, you announce to me, that those in whose name you speak intend to maintain these open and injurious aggressions.

It is not, certainly, on fuch a declaration as this that any reliance can be placed for the continuance of public tranquillity.

But I am unwilling to leave, without a more particular reply, what you fay on the subject of the Scheldt. If it were true that this question is in itself of little importance, this would only serve to prove more clearly, that it was brought forward only for the purpose of insulting the allies of England, by the instraction of their neutrality, and by the violation of their rights, which the faith of treaties obliges us to maintain. But you cannot be ignorant, that here the utinost importance is attached to those principles which France wishes to establish by this proceeding, and to those consequences which would naturally result from them, and that not only those principles and those consequences will never be admitted by England, but that she is, and ever will be, ready to oppose them with all her force.

France can have no right to annul the stipulations relative to the Scheldt, unless she have also the right to set aside equally all the other treaties between all the powers of Europe, and all the other rights of England, or of her allies. She can even have no pretence to interfere in the question of opening the Scheldt, unless she were the sovereign of the Low Countries, or had the right to dictate laws to all Europe.

England never will confent that France shall arrogate the power of annulling at her pleasure, and under the pretence of a pretended

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a pretended natural right, of which the makes herfelf the only judge, the political fystem of Europe, established by solemn steaties, and guaranteed by the consent of all the powers. This government, adhering to the maxims which it has followed for more than a century, will also never see with indifference, that France shall make herfelf, either directly or indirectly, sovereign of the Low Countries, or general arbitress of the rights and liberties of Europe. If France is really desirous of maintaining friendship and peace with England, the must shew herfelf difference her views of aggression and aggrandizement, and to confine herself within her own territory, without insulting other governments, without disturbing their tranquillity; without violating their rights.

With respect to that character of ill-will which is endeavoured to be found in the conduct of England towards France, I cannot discuss it, because you speak of it in general terms only, without alleging a single fact. All Europe has seen the justice and the generolity which have characterised the conduct of the King. His Majesty has always been desirous of peace: he desires it still, but such as may be real and solid, and consistent with the interests and dignity of his own dominions, and with

the general security of Europe.

On the rest of your paper, I say nothing. As to what relates to me and my colleagues, the King's Ministers owe to his Majesty the account of their conduct, and I have no answer to give to you on this subject, any more than on that of the appeal which you propose to make to the English nation. This nation, according to that constitution by which its liberty and its prosperity are secured, and which it will always be able to defend against every attack, direct or indirect, will never have with foreign powers connection or correspondence, except through the organ of its King; of a King whom it loves and reveres, and who has never for an instant separated his rights, his interests, and his happiness, from the rights, the interests, and the happiness of his people.

I have the honour to be, &c.

GRENVILLE.

(No. 15.) non the broken arthur

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Translation of a Note from Monsieur Chauvelin to Lord Grenville, dated 7th January, 1793. (Original returned.)

The underfigned Minister Plenipotentiary from the French Republic has transmitted to the Executive Council the answer which his Excellency Lord Grenville has addressed to him on his note of the 27th of December. He has thought it his duty

not to wait for the instructions which will be the necessary refult of it, in order to transmit to that Minister the new orders which he has received from the Enecutive Council. The declaration which Lord Grenville has made to him, that his Britannic Majesty did not acknowledge him as Minister Plenipotentiary from the French Republic has not appeared to him as if it ought to prevent him. This declaration cannot in any respect alter or destroy the quality of delegate from the French Government, with which the undersigned is evidently invested, or hinder him, in such decisive circumstances, from addressing to the Ministers of his Britannic Majesty, in the name of the French people, of which he is the organ, the following note:

The Executive Council of the French Republic has been informed that the British Parliament is about to pass a law relative to foreigners, the rigorous provisions of which will subject them to measures the more arbitrary, as the Secretaries of State of his Britannic Majesty will have the liberty of restraining or extending them, according to their views and their pleasure. The Executive Council, knowing the religious fidelity of the English people in suffilling their engagements, could not but suppose that the French would be expressly excepted from this law. The treaty of navigation and commerce, concluded in 1786 between the two states, ought formally to secure them from it. This

treaty stipulates,

Article 4.

The subjects and inhabitants of the respective dominions of the two Sovereigns shall have liberty to come and go freely and securely, without licence or passport, general or special, by land or by sea, and to return from thence, to remain there, or to pass through the same, and therein to buy and purchase, as they please, all things necessary for their subsistence and use, and they shall mutually be treated with all kindness and

" favour. Provided however, &c. &c."

But instead of finding in the bill proposed a just exception in favour of France, the Executive Council has been convinced, by positive declarations made in the two Houses of Parliament, by ministerial explanations and interpretations, that this project of a law, under a general term of designation, was principally

directed against the French.

When the British ministry has proposed a law which would so expressly violate the treaty of commerce, when they have openly announced their intention of putting it into execution against the French alone, their first care must no doubt have been to attempt to cover this extraordinary measure with an appearance of necessity, and to prepare before hand a justification some or later necessary, by loading the French nation with represents:

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proaches; by representing it to the English people as an enemy of its constitution; by accusing it, without being able to furnish any proof, and in the most injurious terms, with having fought to foment troubles in England. The Executive Council has already repelled with indignation fuch fuspicions. If some men. cast out from the bosom of France, have spread themselves in Great Britain with the criminal intention of agitating the people, of leading them to revolt, has not England laws to protect the public order? Could the not punish them? The Republic would affuredly not have interpoled in their favour.—Such men

are not Frenchmen.

Reproaches fo little founded, imputations fo infidious, will with difficulty succeed in justifying in the eyes of Europe a conduct, the comparison of which with that constantly held by France towards Great Britain will suffice to demonstrate its injustice and its malevolence. The French nation, become free, has not only not ceased to express in all forms its defire to strengthen its connection with the English people, but it has realifed this defire with all its power, by receiving as allies, as brothers, all the individuals of the English nation. midst of the combats of liberty and of despotism, in the midst of the most violent agitations, it has honoured itself by a religious respect for all foreigners residing within it, and particularly for the English, whatever might be their opinions, their conduct, and their connections with the enemies of liberty; every where they have been affifted, succoured with every kind of benevolence and favour; and it would be as the reward for this generous conduct that the French would find themselves perhaps alone subjected to an Act of Parliament, which would grant to the English Government the most arbitrary latitude of authority against foreigners, which would subject them to the taking licences or pallports for coming, going, and remaining in England; which would allow the Secretaries of State to Subject them without reasons, and on a mere fuspicion, to the most odious forms; to fix a circuit, the bounds of which they could not pass, and even to cast them out of the territory of Great Britain at their pleasure.

It is evident, that all these clauses are contrary to the letter of the treaty of commerce, the fourth article of which extends to all Frenchmen without distinction; and it is too much to be feared, that in consequence of the determination which his Britannic Majesty has thought it right to take, of breaking off all communication between the governments of the two countries, even the French merchants may find themselves frequently unable to avail themselves of the exception which the bill has mads in favour of those who " shall prove that they came to England for

affairs of commerce."

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It is thus that the British Government has first chosen to break a treaty to which England owes a great part of its actual prosperity, burthensome to France, wrested by address and ability from the unskilfulness or from the corruption of the agents of a government it has destroyed; a treaty which it has, however, never ceased to observe religiously; and it is at the very moment when France is accused in the British Parliament of violating treaties, that the public conduct of the two governments offers a contrast so proper to justify the retorting the accusation.

All the powers of Europe would have a right, doubtless, to complain of the hardship of this bill, if ever it obtained the force of law; but it is France especially, the inhabitants of which, secured from its penalties by a solemn treaty, appear nevertheless to be exclusively menaced by them; it is France that has the right to pretend to a more speedy and more particular satisfac-

tion.

The Executive Council might immediately have accepted the rupture of the treaty which the English Government seems to have held out to it; but it was unwilling to precipitate any of its measures; and it has chosen, before it makes known its definitive resolution, to afford the British Ministry the opportunity of a frank and candid explanation. The undersigned has received orders, in consequence, to demand of Lord Grenville to inform him by a speedy, clear, and categorical answer, whether, under the general denomination of foreigners in the bill on which the houses are occupied, the government of Great Britain means likewise to include the French.

(Signed) CHAUVELIN.

Portman Square, 7th Jan. 1793. Second Year of the French Republic.

(No. 16.)

Translation of a Note from Lord Grenville to Monsieur Chauvelin, January 7th, 1793.

After the formal notification which the underligned has already had the honour of making to Monsieur Chauvelin, he finds himself obliged to send back to him the inclosed paper, which he received from him this morning, and which he cannot but consider as being totally inadmissible, Monsieur Chauvelin assuming therein a character which is not acknowledged.

(Signed) GRENVILLE:

Whitehall, Jan. 7, 1793.

Translation

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(No. 17.)

Translation of a Letter from Monsieur Chauvelin to Lord Grenvilles dated 7th January, 1793; received 9th.

PORTMAN SQUARE, 7th January, 1793'
MY LORD, 2d year of the French Republic.

The King of England has prohibited, by a Proclamation of the 15th of November, the exportation of grain and flour. Several vessels lawfully freighted, and ready to depart for France, the government whereof had ordered considerable purchases of those commodities in the ports of England, have been stopped, notwithstanding the law which enacts that the ports shall not be shut till sisteen days after the date of the proclamation; and the British Ministry have themselves acknowledged the irregularity of some of their measures, by applying to Parliament for an act of indemnity. However, the French Government, relying at that time on the good dispositions of the British Ministry, beheld in those measures of vigour only the effect of the foresight and wissom of the English Administration, and did not think it necessary to remonstrate,

Another Proclamation, which foon followed the first, excepted all foreign wheat from the prohibition of exportation; it was guaranteeing to all Europe the security of transports, by removing, in an authentic and solemn manner, all the doubts to which the first Proclamation might have given rise; it was ensuring to the English commerce a considerable repository; it was above all distinguishing the ports of Great Britain as a sacred assume for such vessels laden with grain, and destined for France, as, for their convenience, or by necessity, might be in the case of stopping in their course.

Four weeks after that declaration, some vessels laden with soreign grain, on account of France, were stopped in the English, ports; and when the merchants who were commissioned made their claims, they were coldly answered, that it was by order of

France, my Lord, might still have persuaded herself that some recent and unexpected information upon the state of provisions in Great Britain had obliged Administration to take such extraordinary measures; but the English Government itself took care to prove to Europe that it had no other motive than an hostile partiality against France, if it is true that the Custom Houses received orders to permit the exportation of foreign wheat to all ports, except those of France.

This fact, my Lord, has been attested to me by respectable auhorities; and however accumulated may be the marks of male-

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volence and jealousy which France has seen for some time in the conduct of the British Cabinet. I still harbour doubts of it. I should, the first moment of my knowing it, have waited upon you, my Lord, to be affured from yourself of its certainty, or of its falsehood, if the determination taken by his Britannic Majesty, in the prosent circumstances, to break off all communication between the governments of the two countries, had not rendered friendly and open steps the more difficult, in proportion as they became the more necessary.

But I confidered, my Lord, that when the question of war or peace arose between two powerful nations, that which manifested the desire of attending to all explanations, that which strove the longest to preserve the last link of union and friendship, was the only one which appeared truly worthy and truly great. I beseeth you, my Lord, in the name of public faith, in the name of justice and of humanity, to explain to me facts which I will not characterise, and which the French nation would take for grant-

ed by your filence only, or by the refusal of an answer.

Think, my Lord, that in the bosom of peace, far from all appearance of war, the English government has prosited of the good faith of the merchants of Europe, and of the security of a neighbouring and friendly nation, to bring into its ports those commodities of which it supposed or knew the want in that country, if now that same Ministry should take advantage of the first hostile measures, which shey had either taken themselves, or provoked, to detain such commodities, in the hope, perhaps, that in the midst of the agitations of that country it would suffice to excite the fear of want to create it—they would only obtain, as the reward of such an act of persidy, even by the success of their enterprise, the shame of having employed means, which even in the midst of a terrible war an enlightened and generous nation must abhor, and of having sunk the credit of the English commerce, by violating the sacred asylum of its markets.

I have the honour, &c. F. CHAUVELIN.

(No. 18.)

Translation of a Letter from Lord Grenville to Monsteur Chauvelin, 9th of January, 1793.

It was not till to-day, Sir, that I received your letter of the 7th of this month, relative to certain measures taken here with respect to the exportation of grain.

In the private conversation which we had the 29th of November, in consequence of your defire, I informed you that the King's

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King's Ministers would not decline receiving non-official communications, which, without deciding the question either of the acknowledgement of the new government in France, or of receiving a Minister accredited by her, might offer the means of removing the misunderstanding which already manifested itself

between the two countries.

It has been thought preferable in France to bring forward difficulties of form; and the first communication which I received from you, after that communication, was that of the note of the 27th of December, to which I have already answered. I do not know in what capacity you address me the letter which I have just received; but in every case it would be necessary to know the resolutions which shall have been taken in France, in consequence of what has already passed, before I can enter into any new explanations, especially with respect to measures sounded in a great degree on those motives of jealousy and uneasiness which I have already detailed to you,

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) GRENVILLE,

(No, 19.)

Translation of a Note from Monsieur Chawvelin to Lord Grenville, 11th January, 1793; received 12th. (Original returned.)

The underfigned Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic has given an account to the Executive Council of the form in which Lord Grenville has been authorized to reject the explanation which has been offered him in the name and on the behalf of the Executive Council, on the subject of the law relative to foreigners. The underfigned, until he has fresh instructions from the Council, thinks it his duty not to delay to conform himself to those which he has already received, in declaring to Lord Grenville, that the French Republic cannot but regard the conduct of the English Government as a manifest instruction of the Treaty of Commerce concluded between the two powers, and that consequently she ceases to consider herself as bound by that Treaty, and that she regards it from this moment as broken and annulled.

(Signed) F. CHAUVELIN,

Portman Square, 11th January, 1793, the Second Year of the French Republic,

(No. 20.)

Translation of a Note from Mr. Auft to Monsieur Chauvelin, 13th

of January, 1793.

Mr. Aust is charged to send back to Monsieur Chauvelin the inclosed paper, received yesterday at the Office for Foreign Affairs, Whitehall, 13th January, 1793.

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(No. 21.)

Translation of a Note from Monsieur Chanvelin to Lord Grenville. January 1216, 1703.

I have this instant received a messenger from France, who has brought me an answer to your letter of the 31st. It appears to me, that a conversation with you would be the most suitable form of communicating this answer to you; I have the honour to beg, my Lord, that you will grant it me as foon as possible. As I shall not attach any importance to the form of this private conversation, I cannot imagine, especially after your last letter of the oth, you will fee any difficulty in confenting to it.

I have the honour to be,

F. CHAUVELIN. (Signed)

Portman Square, 12th of January, 1793, the Second Year of the French Republic,

(No. 22.)

Translation of a Letter from Lord Grenville to Monsieur Chauvelin, 13th Fanuary, 1793.

WHITEHALL, 13th January, 1793, Half past One, P. M.

Conformably with what I have already intimated to you, Sir, I have the honour to inform you, that I shall make no difficulty to receive from you a non-official communication in answer to my letter of the 31st December: but I cannot avoid, under circumstances so critical, to beg that you will put in writing what you have to communicate to me, in order that I may be certain of not being under any mistake in the account which it will be my duty to give of this particular communication, I will therefore beg of you to come to the Office for Foreign Affairs as foon as it may be convenient to you.

> I have the honour to be, &c. GRENVILLE. (Signed)

MONSIEUR CHAUVELIN,

(No 23.)

Translation of a Letter from Monsieur Chauvelin to Lord Grenville; dated 13th January, 1793.

PORTMAN SQUARE, 13th January, the Second Year of the French Republic.

MY LORD, The communication which I had the honour to propose to make to you is already committed to writing. I shall immedia ately repair to your office to carry it to you.

I have the honour, &c.

F, CHAUVELIN, (Signed)

LORD GRENVILLE,

(No. 24.)

Translation of a Paper delivered by Monsieur Chauvelin to Lord Grenville, Fanuary 13th, 1793.

> Copy of the Paper addressed by Monsieur le Brun to Monfieur Chauvelin, the 8th January, to be communicated to Lord Grenville.

The Provisional Executive Council of the French Republic. previous to their answering in a more particular manner each of the heads comprized in the note which has been remitted to them on the part of the Ministry of his Britannic Majesty, will begin by renewing to the faid Ministry the most express affurances of their fincere defire of preferving peace and harmony between

France and England.

The fentiments of the French nation towards the English have been manifested during the whole course of the revolution in so constant, so unanimous a manner, that there cannot remain the fmallest doubt of the esteem which it has vowed them, and of its defire of having them for friends. It is therefore with the greatest repugnancy the republic would see herself forced to a tupture, much more contrary to her own inclination than to her interest. Before we come to such an unpleasant extremity, explanations are necessary; and the matter is of so high an importance, that the Executive Council did not think it proper to trust it to the ever-acknowledged ministry of a secret agent; hence they have deemed it to be expedient in all points to charge Citizen Chauvelin with it, though he be no otherwise acknowledged before his Britannic Majesty than on the late King's account.

The opinion of the Executive Council was justified on this occasion, by the manner in which our negociations were at the fame time transacted in Spain, where Citizen Bourgoing was exactly in the same situation as Citizen Chauvelin at London; vet this did not prevent the Ministers of his Catholic Majesty from treating with him for a convention of neutrality, the declaration of which is to be exchanged at Paris, between the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Spanish Charge d'Affaires. We will even add, that the Prime Minister of his Catholic Majesty, in writing officially on this subject to Citizen Bourgoing, did not forget to give him his title of Minister Plenipotentiary from France. The example of a power of the first order, such as Spain, induced the Executive Council to hope to find the fame facility at London. However, the Executive Council freely own, that this demand of negociations has not all the rigour of

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diplomatic form, and that Citizen Chauvelin is not regularly enough authorized. In order to remove this obstacle entirely, to discard every reproach of having stopped, by the mere want of formality, a negociation, on the success of which the tranquillity of two great nations is depending, they have taken the refolution of fending letters of credence to Citizen Chauvelin, which would furnish him with the means of treating in all the severity

of diplomatic forms.

Now, to come to the three points which can alone make an object of difficulty at the Court of London, the Executive Council observe, respecting the first, which is the decree of the 10th of November, that we have not been properly understood by the Ministry of his Britannic Majesty, when they accuse us of having given an explanation which announces to the feditious of all nations what are the cases in which they may previously count on the support and affistance of France. Nothing could be more foreign than this reproach to the sentiments of the National Convention, and to the explanation we have given of them; and we did not think that it were possible we should be charged with the open defign of favouring the feditious, at the very moment when we declare, that it would be wronging the National Convention if they were charged with the project of protecting insurrections, and with the commations that may break out in any corner of a state, of joining the ringleaders, and of thus making the cause of a few private individuals that of the French nation.

We have faid, and we defire to repeat it, that the decree of the 19th of November could not have any application, unless to the fingle case in which the general will of a nation, clearly and unequivocally expressed, should call the French nation to its aflistance and fraternity. Sedition can certainly never be construed into the general will. These two ideas mutually repel each other, fince a fedition is not and cannot be any other than the movement of a small number against the nation at large; and this movement would cease to be seditious, provided all the members of a fociety should at once rife, either to correct their government, or to change its form in tota, or for any other object.

The Dutch were affuredly not feditious when they formed the generous resolution of shaking off the yoke of Spain; and when the general will of that nation called for the affiftance of France, it was not reputed a crime in Henry the Fourth, or in Elizabeth of England, to have liftened to them. The knowledge of the general will is the only basis of the transactions of nations with each other; and we can only treat with any government whatever on this principle, That such a government is deemed the organ of the general will of the nation governed. Thus,

Thus, when by this natural interpretation, the decree of the 10th of November is reduced to what it truly implies, it will be found, that it announces nothing more than an act of the general will, and that beyond any doubt, and so effectually founded in right, that it was scarcely worth the trouble to express it. On this account, the Executive Council thinks that the evidence of this right might perhaps have been dispensed with by the National Convention, and did not deserve to be made the object of particular decree. But with the interpretation which precedes it, it cannot give uneafiness to any nation whatever.

It appears that the ministers of his Britannic Majesty have nothing to object to the declaration relative to Holland, fince the fingle observation made by them on that subject belongs to the discussion of the Scheldt. It is this last point, therefore, to

which we are confined.

We repeat it, this question is in itself of little moment. The ministers of Great Britain conclude that it only serves to prove more clearly, that it was brought forward merely for the purpose of insulting the allies of England, &cc. We shall reply with much less warmth and prejudice, that this question is absolutely in-different to England; that it is of little importance to Holland; but that it is extremely important to the Belgians. That it is indifferent to England it is not necessary to prove; and its trivial import to Holland is evinced by this fact, that the productions of the Belgians pass equally by the canals which terminate at Oftend. Its great importance to the Belgians is proved by the numerous advantages the port of Antwerp prefents to them, 'Tis therefore on account of this importance, 'tis to restore to the Belgians the enjoyment of so precious a right, and not to offend any one, that France has declared herself ready to support them in the exercise of so legitimate a right.

But is France authorised to break the stipulations which are opposed to the liberty of the Scheldt? If the rights of nature and those of nations are consulted, not France alone, all the nations of Europe are authorised to do it there can be no doubt of

If we confult public law, we shall say that it ought to be nothing but the application of the principles of the general rights of nations to the particular circumstances in which nations are placed with regard to each other; infomuch that every particular treaty repugnant to fuch principles can only be regarded as the work of violence. We moreover add, in relation to the Scheldt, that this treaty was concluded without the participation of the Belgians, The Emperor, to secure the peffession of the Low Countries, sacrificed without scruple the most inviolable of lights. Mafter of those fine provinces, he governed them, as Europe

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Europe has feen, with the rod of absolute despotism, respected only those of their privileges which it imported him to preserve, and deftroyed or perpetually ftruggled against the rest. France enters into war with the House of Austria, expels it from the Low Countries, and calls back to freedom those people whom the Court of Vienna had devoted to flavery; their chains are broken; they re-enter into all the rights which the House of Austria had taken away from them. How can that which they possessed with respect to the Scheldt be excepted, particularly when that right is only of importance to those who are deprived of it? For what remains, France has too good a political creed to be afraid to avow the principles of it. The Executive Council declares, not with a view of yielding to some expressions of threatening language, but folely to render homage to truth, that the French Republic does not intend to erect itself into an universal arbitrator of the treaties which bind nations. She will know how to respect other governments, as she will take care to make her own respected. She does not wish to impose laws upon any one, and will not fuffer any one to impose laws upon her. She has renounced, and again renounces, every conquest; and her occupation of the Low Countries shall only continue during the war, and the time which may be necessary to the Belgians to ensure and confolidate their liberty; after which they will be independent and happy, France will find her recompence in their feli-

When that nation shall be found in the full enjoyment of liberty; when its general will can lawfully declare itself without shackles; then, if England and Holland still attach some importance to the opening of the Scheldt, they may put the affair into a direct negociation with Belgia. If the Belgians, by any motive whatever, consent to deprive themselves of the navigation of the Scheldt, France will not oppose it; she will know how to respect their independence, even in their errors.

After to frank a declaration, which manifests such a sincere defire of peace, his Britannic Majesty's Ministers ought not to have any doubts with regard to the intentions of France. If her explanations appear infufficient, and if we are still obliged to hear a haughty language; if hostile preparations are continued in the English ports; after having exhausted every means to preferve peace, we will prepare for war, with a fense of the justice of our cause, and of our efforts to avoid this extremity. We will fight the English, whom we esteem, with regret, but we will fight them without fear.

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tarement burners

(Signed) F. CHAUVELIN.

maintenance of peace and good tradeficanting. I do not fee that it can be uteful toward (88 .019) of conciliation to conce

Translation of a Letter from Lord Grenville to Monsteur Chauvelin, January 18th, 1793.

WHITEHALL, January 18th, 1793.

I have examined, Sir, with the greatest attention, the paper which you delivered to me on the 13th of this month. I cannot conceal from you that I have found nothing fatisfactory in the refult of that note. The explanations it contains are confined nearly to the same points to which I have already given a detailed answer. The declaration of an intention to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries is there renewed. No mention is made either of difavowal or reparation for the offensive measures stated in my letter to you of the 31st December. And the claim is still referved of a right to annul treaties, and to violate the rights of our allies; there being only offered on this fubject an illusory negociation, which is referred, as well as the evacuation of the Low Countries by the French armies, to the indefinite period, not only of the conclusion of the war, but also of the consolidation of what is called the liberty of the Belgic people.

It is added, that if these explanations should appear to us unsatisfactory; if you are again obliged to hear the language of haughtiness; if hostile preparations are continued in the ports of England, after having exhausted every thing which could lead to peace, you will dispose yourselves to war.

If this notification, or that which related to the Treaty of Commerce, had been made to me in a regular and official form, I should have found myself obliged to answer, that a threat of declaring war against England, because she thinks proper to augment her forces, as well as a declaration of breaking a solemn treaty, because England has adopted, for her own security, precautions of the same nature as those which are already established in France, could neither of them be considered in any other light than that of new offences, which, while they subsisted, would preclude all negociation.

In this form of unofficial communication, I feel that it may fill be allowed to me to tell you, without haughtiness, but allowithout disguise, that these explanations are not judged satisfactory; and that all the reasons which have occasioned our preparations still subsist. I have already made these reasons known to you by my letter of the 31st December, in which I have stated, in precise terms, what dispositions could alone contribute to the,

Pp2

maintenance

maintenance of peace and good understanding. I do not see that it can be useful towards the object of conciliation to continue to discuss with you in this form a few separate points, on which I have already made known to you our sentiments. If you had any explanations to give me in the same form, embracing all the objects which I mentioned to you in my letter of the 31st December, and all the circumstances of the present criss, with respect to England, to its allies, and to the general system of Europe, I should still willingly lend myself to it.

I feel, however, that in answer to what you say on the subject of our preparations, I ought to inform you, in the most express terms, that under the existing circumstances, all those measures will be persisted in here which shall be judged expedient for enabling us to protect the security, the tranquillity, and the rights of this country, to support those of our alkes, and to appose a barrier to views of ambition and aggrandizement always dangerous to the rest of Europe; but which become much more so when they are supported by the propagation of principles destructive of all order and society.

Your most obedient humble servant,

to prove the the most or houldo mine an ugrenville.

Lest blues deal v gold (No. 26.)

Translation of a Letter from Monsieur Chauvelin to Lord Grenville, dated 17th January, 1793.

> PORTMAN SQUARE, January 17th, 1792. 2d Year of the French Republic.

My Lord,

I have the honour of addressing myself to you, to beg of you to grant me an interview. I shall proceed to explain the motives of this request, and you will judge them to be such as will not admit of delay. I shall first desire of you, my Lord, security for my communications with the French Government. Whatever may be the character which you acknowledge me to posses, you have at least never doubted of the authenticity of the declarations which I have transmitted to you in the name of the French nation. I will therefore propose to you, my Lord, either absolutely to resuse hearing me, or to give orders for my

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couriers to be respected, and the secrecy of my letters, as well

of those sent as received, to be observed.

I will then, my Lord, require to be informed whether his Britannic Majesty will receive my Letters of Credence, and if he be fatisfied with the declarations contained in the paper which I had the honour of transmitting to your Lordship last Sunday. I have not only received fresh orders from the Executive Council of France, to infuft upon a speedy and definitive answer; but there is yet another reason which urgently presses for the decision of his Britannic Majesty. I have learnt this day, that the law relating to Foreigners obliges them to make their declaration within ten days after the 10th of January; and in case of any foreigner, who is amenable to this law, neglecting or refusing to make fuch declaration, the magistrates of this country would be authorised not only to require him to do so, but even to imprison him. I know, my Lord, and all thole who understand the rights of nations know it also, that I cannot be implicated in this law: the avowed and acknowledged organ of a government which executes laws to which twenty-five million of men have submitted themselves, my person is, and ought to be, sacred; and even under my diplomatic character, my Lord, I could not be ranked among the general common class of foreigners, until his Britannic Majesty should have definitively rejected the Letters of Credence which he knows I have received for him. But had I been implicated in this law, I owe to the government of a free and powerful nation, which I represent, this declaration, that it would be impossible for me to submit to it; and that all the persecutions which it might please his Britannic Majesty to make me endure, would fall upon the French nation, in whose cause and for whose sake it would be my glory to fuffer.

After this candid declaration, my Lord, thinking myfelf intitled to an equal funcerity on your fide, I will defire of you, in the conversation which I solicit, to inform me, what is the conduct which his Britannic Majesty's Ministers mean to hold with respect to me, and with respect to the persons who compose my household, in consequence of the law against Foreigners.

I have the honour to be, &cc.

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(Signed) F. CHAUVELIN.

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couriers to be respected, and the ferrecy of my letters, as well

Translation of a Letter from Lord Grenville to Monsieur Chanvelin, January, 20th, 1793. " to Tueston and be Lauretive Come

WHITEHALL, 20th January, 1793.

I have received, Sir, your letter of the 17th of this

I have already informed you, that his Majesty has referved to himself the right of deciding, according as he shall think fit, on the two questions, of acknowledging a new form of government in France, and of receiving a minister accredited on the part of any other authority in France than that of his Most Christian Majesty. And in answer to the demand which you now make to me, whether his Majesty will receive your new letters of credence? I am to inform you, that his Majesty does not think fit, under the present circumstances, to receive those letters.

The demand which you make to me is equally incompatible with the form of an unofficial communication, and with the character in which you have hitherto been acknowledged, of Minister from his Most Christian Majesty. It only remains for me then on the subject of your letter, especially after what has just passed in France, to inform you, that as agent, charged with a confidential communication, you might certainly have expected the necessary measures on our part for the safety of your letters, and of your messengers; that as Minister from the Most Christian King, you would have enjoyed all the exemptions which the law grants to public ministers, recognized as such; but that as a private person, you cannot but return to the general mass of foreigners resident in England. trailed a charter and afterwards on

I have the honour to be, &c. s pertona wine leadage? We

(Signed) GRENVILLE

E STATESTAND STATES (No. 28.)

Translation of a Letter from Lord Grenville to Monsieur Chauvelin; January 24th, 1793.

WHITEHALL, January 24th, 1793.

I am charged to notify to you, Sir, that the character with which you had been invested at this court, and the functions of which

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which have been fo long suspended, being now entirely terminated, by the fatal death of his late most Christian Majesty,

you have no more any public character here.

The king can no longer, after fuch an event, permit your refidence here. His Majesty has thought fit to order, that you should retire from this kingdom within the term of eight days: and I herewith transmit to you a copy of the order which his Majesty, in his privy council, has given to this effect.

I fend you a paffport for yourfelf and your fuite; and I shall not fail to take all the other necessary steps, in order that you may return to France, with all the attentions which are due to the character of Minister Plenipotentiary from his Most Christian

Majesty, which you have exercised at this court.

I have the honour to be, &c.

to the art actors a saud sa GRENVILLE.

(No. 29.) The MING West batchest Mallas TV in Council.

Translation of a Letter from Monsieur Chawvelin to Lord Grenville; dated 24th January, 1793.

> PORTMAN SQUARE, 24th January, 1793, Second Year of the Republic.

potential accredited by his last their last antinered

I received an hour ago, through Mr. Auft, the letter which you have done me the honour to write to me, together with the papers annexed to it. I intend to fet out to-morrow morning for France; those of my household, who are not able to follow me, will all have departed before the period specified in the order

which you have transmitted to me.

The precautions which you have announced to me as intended to be taken for the fafety of my departure, will extend themfelves affuredly, my Lord, in a more particular manner, to the papers of the French Embaffy, which have been deposited, in trust, with me fince my arrival in this country. Monsieur Rheinhard, who is employed immediately next to me in this mission, will remain here five days after me to put them in order, I hope you will approve his waiting upon Mr. Aust, to ask of him a paffport nearly of the same nature with that which I have received; and to make several observations to him with regard to the precautions which he may think fitting and necessary to

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be taken for the fafe conveyance of these papers, for which he remains responsible.

I have the honour to be, &c.

noy tada (robio it the alevoid (Signed) F. CHAUVELIN. JAI

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Copy of His Majesty's Order in Council, of the 24th of January, 1793.

At the COURT at the QUEEN's House, the 24th of January, 1793;

PRESENT,

The KING's Most Excellent MAJESTY in Council.

His Majesty in Council is pleased to order, and it is hereby ordered, that Monfieur Chauvelin, who was received by His Majesty, on the second day of May, 1792, as Minister Plenipotentiary accredited by his late Most Christian Majesty, do depart this realm on or before the first day of February next; and that the Right Hon. Lord Grenville, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, do make known this His Majesty's order to the said Monsieur Chauvelin.

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JANUARY 80. DECOLLATION OF CHARLES I.

JANUARY 31.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER having caused the Order of the Day for taking into consideration his Majesty's Most Gracious Message, to be read, said, that for his part he was then ready, pursuant to the above Order, to enter into the discussion of this important business, and to move the Address of which he had already given notice. But as the Papers which his Majesty had been pleased to communicate to the House, and which contained the grounds on which he meant chiefly to rest the merits of the Address, had not been printed and delivered till that morning; as they were rather voluminous, and as it was to be wished that Gentlemen should have fufficient time for peruling and confidering them, before they were called upon to concur in the Address which it was his intention to move, he thought it would be more adviseable to adjourn the confideration of the Message till to-morrow. He begged it might be clearly understood that this was his only reason for delay; and that had the Papers been delivered yesterday, he most certainly would have made his promised Motion that day. To shorten an adjournment could not be in any degree prejudicial to the public affairs; whilst on the other hand it would shew, that it was the wish of the House, that the vote to which it would come to on that important business should appear to the world to be the result of the fullest deliberation. As he was then on his legs, Mr. Pitt faid, he took that opportunity to give notice, that, as on the one fide all unnecessary halle ought to be avoided, so on the other ought all unnecessary delay: he meant to move to-morrow, after the Address should have been carried, for an augmentation of his Majesty's Naval Force; and to state that the number of seamen for which he intended to apply, in addition to the 25,000 already voted, would be twenty thousand, making in the whole 45,000.—He concluded, by moving, that the House would proceed to-morrow, to the confideration of his Majesty's Most Gracious Message.

Mr. GREY said, he did not rise for the purpose of producing unnecessary delay in a business, which was allowed on all hands to be of the last importance, as it involved the prosperity and peace, and perhaps the very existence of the State. But he rose to submit to the judgment and candor of the Right Honourable Gentleman, some reasons for shewing that a longer

adjournment

adjournment than till to-morrow, ought to be adopted by the House. The Right Honourable Gentleman best knew what would be the scope and object of the Address, which he intended to move, and therefore he could best tell whether the papers then before the House, would warrant and support the measure that he meant to propose. But those who were acquainted with the purport of the Address, and who saw that the present crisis was likely to terminate in a war, might think that many more papers, than had yet been produced, would be necessary to enable them to form a judgment on so momentous a question. The communication already before the House appeared to him to be very defective, for there was a chafm from the 8th of July to the 19th of November, of the last year, a period during which events of a very important nature had taken place in France. He wished that this chasm might be filled up, or that the Minister would fay, that during that interval, no communication had taken place between Great Britain and the French Government. If he would affert this, there would of course be an end of the matter; but if he would not, he ought undoubtedly to lay before the House the papers which were received during that period, as absolutely necessary to guide the judgment of the House, and of the country. He was aware, that for a confiderable part of the above interval, there was no regular communication between the two countries; but it was understood, that our government had had fome intercourse with the Agents from France, who, though not accredited to our Court, had certainly a public character, and came over to England in the name of the French Government. The papers which passed between such Agents, and our Ministers, ought to be communicated to the House, as well as those which had passed between the latter and Mr. Chauvelin. It was reported and generally understood, that a communication had been opened between Lord Auckland, our Ambassador at the Hague, and the Executive Council of France. If this was true, and he believed it was not doubted by any one, the correspondence of that Noble Lord on the occasion, ought to be laid before Parliament. There was another point of very considerable importance in this business, and on which the House had no information whatever. It was faid that our interference in Continental affairs at this juncture, was the confequence of our engagements with the Dutch, to whom we were bound to guarantee the exclusive navigation of the The existence of those engagements he did not deny, but furely he might ask whether Holland had formally called upon us to fulfil them. If the had, the requisition ought to be communicated to the House; if she had not, it did not appear

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to him that we had any ground whatever for interfering, much less for going to war. Upon all these grounds he thought that the House had not yet sufficient documents before it, to enable it to go into the consideration of the King's Message so soon as to-morrow; and therefore he moved as an amendment, that the word "to-morrow" should be lest out, and the words "on

" Monday next" inferred in its room.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER observed, that the Honourable Gentleman had gone into a great variety of matter, and mentioned a considerable number of points on which he wanted information. If the Honourable Gentleman considered the papers to which he had alluded, as necessary to the discussion of the King's Message, he was at liberty to move for them; and the House would use its own discretion either in agreeing to or resisting the production of them. For his own part all that he should say at present was, that the Address which it was his intention to move, would require nothing more to warrant and justify it, than the papers already before the House,

and fuch facts as were already of public notoriety.

Mr. SHERIDAN faid, the Right Honourable Gentleman ought to have deemed it proper to take fome notice of the different points on which his Honourable Friend had touched; they certainly were of a nature that entitled them to confideration; and they ought not to have been passed over unnoticed. He agreed with the Right Honourable Gentleman that it was of consequence that it should appear to the world that the determination of the House on this great business was the refult of mature deliberation. But that was not all that was required; for it ought to be made to appear to the people of England, who were to bear the burdens of the war, that it was on our part absolutely unavoidable; and that nothing had been omitted by Ministers, confishent with national honour, to avert it. This was not a favour, which the Right Honourable Gentleman might grant to, or withhold at pleafure from the people, but a debt which he owed them, and which it was his bounded His Honourable Friend had mentioned an duty to discharge. intercourse between Lord Auckland at the Hague, and the Executive Council of France, and between the King's Minifters at home, and certain Agents from that body though not accredited. It was an easy matter for the Right Honourable Gentleman to fay whether any fuch intercourse had taken place or not; if he would fay it had not, there would of course be an end of the business; if the contrary, then the Correspondence ought to be produced. Gentlemen who were not in office had no means of judging whether reports circulated on the Continent, or public declarations made there, had any foundation in truth; but if credit might be given to papers pub-Qq2

lished by authority of the National Convention, it would appear that an intercourse had taken place between the English Ambassador at the Hague (Lord Auckland) and some Agent or Agents of the French Government: for Mr. Briffot, in a report to the National Convention, absolutely afferted the fact. Surely then, it must be admitted, if the affertion was true, that the information given to the House of Commons was very incomplete, and fuch as would not warrant a declaration that the war was unavoidable on our part, and that it was a war of downright necessity. There was another point, on which full information ought to be given before the House could proceed to debate the King's Message, but on which not a particle of information had yet been given; and that was respecting the conduct of Holland. It was on account of that country, it was faid, that we were going to war; we had entered into a treaty with the Dutch, to guarantee to them the exclusive navigation of the Scheldt, which had lately been opened by the French. No one would pretend to fay, that we were bound to arm on account of that measure, unless the Dutch had called upon us expressly fo to do; what evidence was there before the House, that the Dutch had made any application to us on the subject. And if they had not, how could any man take it upon his conscience to say, that the war was unavoidable on our part? He hoped then, that the Right Honourable Gentleman would feel the necessity of explaining himself to the House on these different points.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER did not rife in reply; the question was put on Mr Grey's amendment, which was negatived without a division; and then the original motion, as made by Mr. Pitt, was carried without further

debate.

Mr. GREY rofe again, and faid, that as the Right Honourable Gentleman had not thought proper to give the defired explanation on the different points which he had mentioned, or afford a delay till Monday for the confideration of the King's Meffage, he would confider it his duty to move tomorrow for the various papers to which he had taken the liberty to allude.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER defired the Honourable Member would specify the papers for which he intended to move on the morrow, he would either consent to the production of them, or state his reasons for opposing it.

Mr. GREY stated generally, that the papers which he wanted, were such as had passed between our Ministers and the French Ambassador, from the 8th of July to the 19th of November last; such as had passed either immediately or circuitously between our Ministers here, or Lord Auckland at the Hague.

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Hague, through any Agents of the French government; and finally, the requifition, if any, made by the States General of the United Provinces, for a performance of our engagements for fecuring to the Republic of Holland the exclusive navigation of the Scheldt.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER took down in writing a memorandum of these papers, and then moved that the House should adjourn. The question was immediately put and carried with opposition, and the adjournment took place at half past four o'clock.

FEBRUARY 1.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS role to move for leave to bring in a Bill for restoring a Clause which usually made a part of the former Militia Acts, but which rather through accident, he believed, than defign, had been left out of the last. This Clause was for making a provision for the wives and children of persons drawn by lot to serve in the Militia; a provision which he meant to extend to the wives and children of persons ferving therein as Substitutes. He said he had received letters from many respectable Gentlemen on the subject of the Militia, fuggesting various improvements in that branch of the public fervice; if he had not adopted them, and included them in the present plan, it was not because he did not think them deserving of attention, but because it was of great consequence to the fervice, that the measure which he was at present going to propole, should be carried into effect with all possible dispatch for the benefit of the families of men actually ferving: should the improvements fuggested be comprized in the same Bill, he was well aware that delay would be the consequence, as the whole of the Militia Laws would be laid open to discussion. He did not deny but this might be attended with good effects; but he thought that the best way in which the House could proceed, would be to take that bufiness up as a separate measure, and fuffer the Bill which he now wanted to introduce, to pass with all possible expedition. Having faid this, he moved " for " leave to bring in a Bill for explaining and amending an Act " of the 19th of the present King, respecting the Militia."

The Motion was agreed to without any opposition, and Mr. Dundas and Mr. Hobart were directed to prepare and bring in the Bill.

MOTIONS FOR PAPERS.

The Order of the Day being read for taking into confideration his Majesty's Message.

Mr. GREY faid, that where he to confider the manner in which

which the notice which he gave yesterday of a Motion respect. ing certain Papers, was received by the Right Honourable Gentleman over against him, (Mr. Pitt) he should feel but little hopes of fuccess this day, and little encouragement to proceed. The manner to which he alluded, was not justified by any incivility on his part to the Right Honourable Gentleman, for certainly he did not mean any personal incivility to him in calling for certain explanations, which he thought the House ought to be in possession of, before it could decide upon the important question, which was that day to be brought under The Right Honourable Gentleman perhaps had been influenced by a fense of his superiority of talents and of power, which made him deem it unnecessary, or below his dignity to give answers to persons on the Opposition side of the House; he might also feel bolder, and consequently less complaifant, on account of the difunion among those who had hitherto opposed his Administration. As for his own part he was fully conscious how inferior he was to the Right Honourable Gentleman both in talents and in power; but still felt what was due to the character of an independent Member of Parliament: the haughty arrogance of an individual, might be indecently employed to check the ardor of a representative of the people; but whilft he had the honour of a feat in that house, he would not fuffer himself to be diverted by any thing that a Minister could do, from pursuing that line of conduct his duty to his constituents should point out. When he yesterday asked the Right Honourable Gentleman some plain questions, respecting the existence of certain Papers, the answer he got was, specity the Papers you want, and the House will consider whether they ought to be granted: the Papers already before the House, are sufficient to warrant the Motion which I intend to make; and even without these Papers, I might rest the desence of it upon the notoriety of many acts done by France, which loudly call for fome vigorous measures on the part of England. It was very possible, Mr. Grey observed, that the Papers already on the table, might be sufficient for the Right Honourable Gentleman's purpole; he best knew what that purpose was: but a Representative of the people, who are to bear the burdens of the war, to which the Right Honourable Gentleman's measures were leading the country, ought, before he consented to a war, to have before him every document that could prove that the war was unavoidable, and absolutely necessary. Come when it would, or in what shape, war must be deemed a great calamity, and nothing but dire necessity could justify a nation in engaging in it. In speaking on that subject he could not exprels himself in more forcible terms than those which were used

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by a late unfortunate Monarch (Louis XVI.) who, in addressing the National Assembly, faid, "Humanity forbids us to shed blood, unless when we are driven to it by imperious necessity. In rising this day to move for more Papers than the Right Honourable Gentleman had thought proper to produce, his only object was to discover whether such a necessity existed in the present case, as far as Great Britain and her Allies were concerned; and whether our Ministers had employed all the means in their power, confishent with national honour and fecurity, to avoid a war. The Right Honourable Gentleman himfelf did not feem, notwithstanding all his boasting to the contrary, to trust solely to the Papers on the table for a proof of the necessity of the war; for other Papers had been circulated, not indeed at the door of the House, but through the town, containing a collection of speeches made by Members of the National Convention, and decrees passed by that Assembly against Monarchy, Religious Establishments, and Religion itself, all which were calculated not to enlighten, but to millead the judgment, because they could not well fail to move the passions of the readers. These papers were collected into a pamphlet, which he verily believed to be circulated by the Treasury, and brought in aid of the Papers which the Right Honourable Gentleman had communicated to the House. Thus it would appear, that the latter really were, in the opinion even of the Right Honourable Gentleman himself, whatever he might affect to believe to the contrary, absolutely insufficient to direct the judgment of the House, in a business of such magnitude, as was the consideration of, whether the nation should or should not be plunged into a war. The Papers for which he intended to move, in addition to those already on the table, were those, if any such there were, as had passed between our Ministers and the French Ambassador at our Court, between the 8th of July and the 19th of November, 1792, during which period there appeared to be a chaim in the printed communication. He meant next to move for fuch Papers, if any, as had been received by our Ministers from other French Agents; and for copies of the correspondence between his Majesty's Ambassador at the Hague and the French Executive Council. He was the more anxious to learn whether any fuch correspondence had taken place, as he found that Mr. Briffot had afferted in a Report made to the National Convention, that in October and November laft, an amicable negociation had been opened with the British Government. He was aware, that in the report to which he alluded, there was a palpable inconfishency, for it was stated, that what had made the English Minister so complaisant, as to agree to this negociation, was the splendid victory gained by the French arms at Jemmappe:

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mappe: now he was ready to admit, that it was abfurd to fav. that a victory gained on the 6th of November, could have made the English Ministers consent to a negociation in the month of October. But still it was afferted, let the cause have been what it might, that a negociation was opened in October; the object. purport, and extent of it were unknown to the House; but it was fit that every thing relating to it should be made known. before Gentlemen could be faid to be fairly and fully in polfession of all that was necessary to direct their judgment in the great question that was to be that night brought before them. The last Papers for which he intended to move, were copies of fuch requifitions as had been made by the States General of the United Provinces, for the performance of the engagements into which this country had entered, for maintaining to the Republic the exclusive navigation of the Scheldt. The House, he said, must fee the necessity for producing these Papers; for if England was to enter into a war on account of engagements with Holland, three things ought to be made to appear: first, that the engagements exist; secondly, that the case on account of which we are called upon for the performance of them is a casus faderis; and thirdly, that we have actually been required to fulfil them. No man had a higher fense than he had of the binding nature of folemn treaties, and of the good faith with which they ought to be executed; but still he did not fee that a nation was bound to fland forward unasked, and prepare to fulfil engagements, before it was required to arm by the State standing in need of assistance. To shew how matters stood in this respect between England and Holland, was the subject of his last motion, and as it appeared to him to be the most important of all, so he trusted that the House would see the propriety of adopting it. Having faid this he moved,

That there be laid before this House, " An Account of all " Communications that have passed between his Majesty's Mi-" nisters and the Executive Government of France or their " Agents, from the 8th of July to the 19th of November,

" 4792."

Question with leave withdrawn.

That there be laid before this House, " An Account of all " the Claims and requisitions made on the part of the States " General of the United Provinces, upon the subject of the " Treaty concluded in 1788, between Great Britain and the " faid States General, as far as the same relate to the exclusive " navigation of the Scheldt, and of any application made by the " faid States General to this Government, on the ground of " Treaty, for our affishance and interference in the present

" circumstances respecting France."

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The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER faid, he prefurred that neither the Honourable Gentleman or the House expected that he should on this collateral motion, go into a discussion of topics, which would with much more propriety and regularity be brought forward when he should have the honour of moving the Address, of which he had given notice for that night. He meant therefore, literally to confine himself to the confideration of the Papers, which the Honourable Gentleman wished to have produced, and to shew that in some of the cases alluded to, no such Papers were in existence; and that in others, fuch as did exist, either could not or ought not to be produced. The House already knew that soon after July. viz. early in the month of August, his Majesty had been pleased to recall his Ambassador from Paris; from that period to the 19th of November, all communication ceased between the two countries, except in some particular instances in no degree whatever connected with matters at prefent under discussion: there was indeed a communication from the French Government respecting the conduct of the Princes of the House of Bourbon, but nothing regarding England; and some others of a private nature respecting the property of individuals in the Island of Tobago; so that in reality there were no Papers in any way relating to the objects in dispute between the two countries, received from Monf. Chauvelin, between the 8th of July and the 19th of November last. The Honourable Gentleman's fecond Motion he understood to be for Papers received from other Agents of the French Government. On this head he would fay that no fuch Papers existed. It appeared, indeed, from one of the Papers already on the table, that when affairs began to wear a ferious aspect, his Majesty's Minillers were willing to agree to fome extra official mode of treating; and that to this end Lord Grenville had admitted Monf. Chauvelin to an interview; what paffed at it could not be laid before the House, because it was not reduced to writing, but delivered verbally, and in the way of conversation. The substance of such extra official conferences, had never been considered as proper subjects to be laid before Parliament, because the substance of them could be collected only from memory, and confequently it might be inaccurately given; and secondly, because such conferences generally led to, and might be confidered as the preliminaries to some specific written documents, on which measures might afterwards be grounded. He recollected also, that he himself had had some conferences (the first on the 3d of December last) with a person who did not flyle himself an Agent from the French Government, but represented himself as one in the confidence of some of those,

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in whose hands was the exercise of authority in France. What passed at these conferences, was not in writing, and therefore could not be produced; he had agreed to this extra official way of doing business, in the hope that some offer would be made, which would satisfy Great Britain; but nothing of the kind was made; and in the end the person to whom he alluded referred him to M. Chauvelin to learn from him the further

intentions of the Executive Council.

The Honourable Gentleman wished also, that such correfpondence as had taken place between his Majesty's Ambassa. dors at the Hague, and the Executive Council of France, or with any other persons in that country, should be laid before the House. He could assure the Honourable Gentleman that he knew of no communication between Lord Auckland and the Executive Council, and therefore he could not produce it. On the other hand, if that Noble Lord had thought it his duty to open a correspondence with particular persons in France, which might eventually lead to the benefit of this country, he was of opinion that the production of any Papers which passed on such an occasion would be a breach of every rule of policy, discretion, and honour. The Honourable Gentleman's last motion was for copies of fuch requifitions as had been made by Holland for the performance of the engagements into which England had entered for fecuring to the former the exclusive navigation of the Scheldt. On this head he was ready to admit, that if the Honourable Gentleman meant requifitions for the contingent of troops, which England was bound by treaty to furnish for maintaining the exclusive navigation of the Scheldt, no fuch requifitions had been made; but this circumstance, so far from weakening, would, as he should shew when the King's Message came under consideration, strengthen the proposition which he intended to move on that subject. On the other hand, lest the Honourable Gentleman, or the House should be led into an opinion that Holland was without alarms and perfeetly at ease, he thought it his duty to say, that the Dutch had repeatedly expressed their solicitude for the presence of a British force to defend them against an attack in the Scheldt, which they had reason to apprehend. In answering the different questions put by the Honourable Gentleman, Mr. Pitt said, he had carefully avoided going into a discussion on the contents of any of the Papers in question, because he would not anticipate the debate which would come on upon the Motion for an Address. If he did not answer the Honourable Gentleman yesterday, it was because he wished to be able to speak with greater accuracy, and to be perfectly clear that no Paper,

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which could or ought to be presented to the House, had been withheld.

Mr. SHERIDAN observed, that when the Right Honourable Gentleman faid he had avoided going into a discussion on the contents of the Papers, he meant to infinuate that his Honourable Friend (Mr. Grey) had gone into collateral matters, not necessarily connected with arguments, merely for the production of Papers: but the infinuation was unfounded; for his Honourable Friend had not uttered a fingle fentence which was not closely connected with the object of his motions. The Right Honourable Gentleman's refufal yesterday to say as much as he did that day, or to give any answer or explanation at all, could be ascribed only to Ministerial arrogance, and consequently his filence yesterday was infulting. It was, however, some confolation to his Honourable Friend, that he was not the only person to whom the Right Honourable Gentleman was so insultingly referved; for it would appear, that he had concealed even from his colleague (Mr. Secretary Dundas) the circumstance of the conferences which he this day allowed he had had with an unauthorifed agent of France; for that Right Honourable Colleague had, on a former day declared, in language aftonishingly perspicuous, " that he did not believe that it was compa-" tible with his belief, that any thing more had palled between "the French Government and his Majesty's Ministers, than " what passed through the hands of Monf. Chauvelin."

Mr. FOX faid, he did not mean to take up a minute of the time of the House on this subject; he rose only for the purpose of asking whether he rightly understood the Right Honourable The Right Honourable Gentleman on one or two points. Gentleman had faid, that he knew of no communication between Lord Auckland and the French Executive Council: if he meant . that they had not communicated personally, he had faid no more than was known before to every one, because it was a matter of notoriety that Lord Auckland had not been at Paris during the last fummer or the present winter; and that the Executive Council had not visited the Hague. But he wished to know whether the Right Honourable Gentleman meant to fay, that Lord Auckland had not any communication with the Executive Council, through the medium of any Minister or Agent employed by the latter. Lord Auckland certainly would not negociate with the government of France, without authority for that purpole from his own government; and if such authority was given to him, his dispatches in confequence of it ought to be laid before Parliament. As to the conferences which the Right Honourable Gentleman had flated to have taken place in England, with agents from France, he admitted, that what was

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usually transacted at the time, could not be as regularly laid before Parliament, as transactions which were wholly in writing, But still it was known that what was generally called a verbal communication in diplomatic language, was almost always on paper, and was called fometimes un note verbale; at all events, a minute of the conference was made for the information of the King and his Council, and therefore it was practicable to lay fuch minute or note verbale before Parliament, and the only question that could arise upon it, was, whether it would be proper to produce it. With respect to Holland, there was one point on which he wished for some explanation. The Right Honourable Gentleman had admitted that no formal requifition had been made by that country, for the contingent of men which England was bound by Treaty to furnish; but he faid at the same time, that Holland had repeatedly expressed her solicitude for the presence of a British force. What he wanted to know was, whether it was in confequence of the Treaty, that fuch force was wished for, or not? It might be that Holland demanded this force on the ground that we were bound by Treaty to fend it; or it might be that she wished for it on the ground that our own interest, independent of any Treaty, ought to induce us to grant fuch affistance. He was anxious to know on which of these grounds the presence of the British force was desired. If it was on the score of the Treaty, there was not the least ground for deliberation; we had promifed to furnish a quota of troops, and were bound by national faith and national honour, which were paramount to every other confideration, to fulfil our engagements. But if the Dutch grounded their requisition on the principal that our own interest should induce us to defend them, then the question would be of a very different nature indeed; it would not be a question of faith or of honour, but of policy, prudence, and discretion; and as in the one case we were bound without hesitation to furnish the stipulated quota; so in the other we might refuse to give any aid at all, unless it should be evident that our own interest called upon us to stand forward and defend the Republic. The Motion of his Honourable Friend on this subject he thought of great moment, and it would, in his opinion, be proper for him to press it upon the Houle; but as for the others, he would advise him, after the explanation given by the Right Honourable Gentleman, to withdraw and drop them.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER role to explain one point which feemed not to have been sufficiently understood by the Right Honourable Gentleman who had spoke last. With respect to Lord Auckland, what he meant to say was, that he knew of no communication between that Noble

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Lord and the Executive Council of France, through the medium of any agent or agents of the latter acting as fuch.

Mr. GREY confented to withdraw the Motion then before the House, and to give up the next two Motions which he intended to have made; but he moved the fourth, respecting Holland, which was negatived without any further debate, and without a division.

KING'S MESSAGE.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER faid, he had now to call the attention of the House to a very important ob-. ject; an object of the greatest national concern, affecting deeply the national honour of this country, and as fuch deferving the most folemn consideration, and which he should introduce in a more formal manner, but that the attention of the House had been already in some degree called to it; they had already reflected on that calamitous event—that defiance of justice—that violation of humanity—that outrage of religion—that detellable deed, which was regarded with horror throughout every part of this Island, and which he believed produced the fame effect in every part of this globe where Christianity was practifed; a deed, in reflecting on which, we should consult the honour of human nature, by endeavouring to draw a veil over it. in hope that the whole transaction should be forgotten for ever;

Excidat ille dies avo, neu postera credant Secula; nos certe taceamus, et obruta multa Nocte tegi nostræ patiamur crimina gentis.

Such were the words of De Thou, a great character of France, on the massacre of St. Bartholomew; they had been a standing reproach to France, and would to our latest posterity; because in all that had followed, and was likely to follow, it filled us with fuch grief and horror, that the human mind was barely able to support itself under the affliction. It would be a confolation to humanity to blot it out, difmifs it from the memory of the present age, expunge it from the page of history, hide it from the rest of the world, and conceal it from posterity for ever; but as this was not in the power of man, nor could the fucceeding dreadful scene of proscription and blood be concealed; scenes that would be an everlasting stain on the character of France, be hidden from our view, nor the confequence of them escape the breath of tradition to posterity, it was therefore a duty upon us to take care, that with them should follow our fixed and determined hatred of the acts. It was our duty to record to posterity, in justice to ourselves, that upon every principle by which man is bound in life, this deed must be declared to be the most inhuman that the history of this world had ever

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occasion to attest. There was another duty which that House should not neglect: It was that of expressing their opinion, that all the dreadful scenes which had fince happened were the natural effect of the principles maintained in France; principles that refled upon grounds utterly subversive of all order, new in the history of the world, contradictory to all experience, repug. nant to morality, and even revelation itself, and finally tending to the compleat misery of the human race, by depriving Go. vernment of its energy, and each individual of every thing that was dear to him, and which brought to a fatal catastrophe a law. This was a leffon which ought to hold out to ful Sovereign. us the danger of trying to reduce to practice vague, speculative, and delufive theories upon Government, and disdaining to follow old and prudential maxims. This ought to fix our minds, and render us contented to follow the steps, and adhere to the principles adopted from age to age, to mark our deteffations of thefe new and vain speculations; and, above all, to arrest their progress, and to prevent their contagion; and if we could not at once extinguish them, we should do all we could to prevent their farther extension.

Thus far he had fpoken generally upon the subject of the conduct of France, and of French principles; he might, if that were necessary, have said much upon the feelings which these considerations must awaken, but he was more defirous that this subject should be treated rather upon reason and reflection, than as a queltion of feeling. Our reflection therefore must be directed to the falvation, not only of ourfelves, but also of every other country attacked by these people, and attempted to be deluded by the propagation of their principles: for where their arms could not reach, they never failed to exert their utmost effort to diffeminate their principles; we therefore should be active in refisting them. So clear did this point appear in his view, that he could not bring himself to think that there could be any difference of opinion upon that subject, as little doubt could there be of what ought to be the conduct of fuch a country as this upon fuch an occasion. We knew, and we should feel, that the form of our government was that of King, Lords, and Commons. This was a form to which we were attached, upon a conviction that it was the best, and that to it we owed all the profperity and happiness which we enjoyed, and which made us the envy of furrounding nations. We should convey to Europe, and to the world at large, that we are fensible of the bleffings we enjoy, and that we foorn the meddling power which would deprive us of the glory to which we, under the protection of Providence, have been able to arrive at; glory which could only be properly contrafted with the mifery of those who wished to deprive us

of it. Indeed, the inhabitants of this country feemed, in the notions they entertained of freedom, likely to retain it longer than those who became enthusiastic in their description of it; they feemed to have it as a geographical advantage, enjoying, as by nature they did, all the productions of the earth, with all fuperior advantages of the temperate zone, where, by the vicifitudes of the feafon, the foil was fertile, the fky ferene, and the inhabitants vigorous and healthy—a thousand times superior, in every fense, to the heat, intemperance, and exuberant productions of the torrid, and infinitely more open and generous than the frigid zone. Hence it was that rational freedom, the only freedom deferving of the name, was well understood in this country; and as to the hot-bed productions of another, he was fure they would not be relished, nor did he believe they could have existence here, except by the encouragement of a few very factious characters; the truth was, these principles did not agree with ours; their natural origin was not here, nor was there any

thing to be feared from them.

He then called the attention of the House to the figuation of this country as it stood with relation to France, and of all Europe; a great part of that subject had been discussed on the first day of the fession, and therefore his labour in that respect was lessened; he should only observe, that it gave him great pleafure to reflect, he had the honour to concur with a large majority in that House, and he had no doubt with a large majority of the people of this country. He next adverted to the Papers then on the table, which he faid might be divided into two parts, those which had been received before any step had been taken that could afford subject for alarm to Great Britain and Holland; and those which were delivered after that period. In the very first official Paper delivered by Mr. Chauvelin to Lord Grenville, and dated the 12th of May 1792, was the following passage: "Thus the King saw himself forced into a war, which was already declared against him; but, religiously faithful to the principles of the conflitution, whatever may finally be the fate of arms in this war, France rejects all ideas of aggrandizement. She will preferve her limits, her liberty, her conflitution, her inalienable right of reforming herfelf, whenever the may think proper: She will never consent that, under any relation, foreign yowers should attempt to dictate, or even dare to nourish a hope of dictating laws to her. But this very pride, fo natural and fo just, is a fure pledge to all the powers, from whom she shall have received no provocation, not only of her constantly pacific dispositions, but also of the respect which the French will know how to shew, at all times, for the laws, the customs, and all the turns of government of different nations. The King, indeed,

wifnes it to be known, that he would publicly and feverely difavow all those of his Agents at foreign Courts in peace with France, who dare to depart an inflant from that respect, either by fomenting or favouring infurrections against the established order, or by interfering in any manner whatever in the interior policy of fuch states, under pretence of a profelytism, which, exercifed in the dominions of friendly powers, would be a real violation of the law of nations." This Paper was delivered at a time when France was poffeffed of what the called a free Government. Here two principles were laid down, from both of which France very foon after departed. The one was, that whatever might be the fate of arms, the renounced all idea of aggrandizement, and meant to confine herfelf within her antient boundaries. The other, that to foment or favour infurrections in other States under pretence of profelytism, would be a real violation of the law of nations. These two principles she had fince thought proper to trample under foot; for she had seized every opportunity of aggrandizing herfelf; and the had repeatedly and fystematically done that which she herself, through the organ of her Ambaffadors, had described as a violation of the law of nations. Of all the countries of Europe, there was not one that was better entitled than England to particular attentions from France, for she had abstained from interfering in the internal government of the latter, or endeavouring to turn her civil diffentions to the advantage of Great Britain. The King however required nothing in return for this strict neutrality but a respect on the part of the French for the Rights of England and of her allies, as appeared from the following paffage in Lord Grenville's answer to the above communication: Monsieur Chauvelin, "Faithful to all his engagements, his Majesty will pay the strictest attention to the preservation of the good understanding which fo happily fublists between him and his Most Christian Majesty; expecting with confidence, that, animated with the fame fentiments, his Most Christian Majesly will not fail to contribute to the fame end, by caufing on his part the rights of his Majesty and his allies to be respected, and by rigorously forbidding any step which might affect the friendship which his Majesty has ever desired to consolidate and perpetuate for the happiness of the two Empires." Another Paper delivered by Monsieur Chauvelin, to Lord Grenville, on the 24th of May, contained the following passage: " If certain individuals of this country have established a correspondence abroad, tending to excite troubles therein, and if, as the proclamation feems to infinuate, certain Frenchmen have come into their views, that is a proceeding wholly foreign to the French Nation, to the Legislative Body, to the King, and to mis Ministers:

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it; tion Ministers: it is a proceeding of which they are entirely ignorant, which militates against every principle of justice, and which; whenever it became known, would be universally condemned in France. Independently of those principles of justice, from which a free people ought never to deviate; is it not evident, from a due consideration of the true interests of the French nation, that she ought to desire the interior tranquillity, the continuance and the force of the constitution of a country which she already looks upon as her natural ally?" If the nation, from which Great Britain had received insults, passed to severe a judgment as this upon herself, would an insulted nation be so patient, so insensible of injury, as to overlook attempts made by France to raise insurrections in England, at the very time that she was affecting to look upon the latter as an ally? What reliance could be placed on the principles or declarations of such a

power?

She admitted that it was a violation of the law of nations, to attempt to raise insurrections in another state; and yet this she had done openly, avowedly, and systematically. She admitted that the rights of England and her allies ought to be respected; as appeared from the following note in a letter from Monfieur Chauvelin to Lord Grenville, on the 18th of June, in reply to the latt. " He haftens at the same time to declare to him, conformably to the defire expressed in that answer, that the rights of all the allies of Great Britain, who shall not have provoked France by hostile measures, shall by him be no less religiously And yet without a shadow of provocation France invaded those rights, and scandalously trod them under foot. On these points he begged the House would allow him to expatiate somewhat at large, and he would endeavour to shew, that unless a barrier was railed against the destructive arms of France, and her more destructive principles, there would be no safety for the liberty or independence of England. It must have been remarked, that whatever profeshions of moderation France might have thought proper to make in prudence and policy. The never failed to forget them the moment her arms were crowned with fucceis. -When her forces made an irruption into Savoy, the foon loft light of the declaration by which the had pledged herfelf to confine herfelf within her ancient limits; and, instead of declaring the people of that country free and independent, she, from views of aggrandizement, thought proper to make it a province of France, under the name of the eighty-fourth department. The next scene of her successes were the Netherlands, and there the exhibited a most fingular mode of proceeding. She shewed that the way to organize a state was to begin by disorganizing it; and it was declared to be a fettled maxim with the Convention, to be established in every country where the French armies made

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made their appearance, a diforganizing, organizing, and flanding revolutionary principle. Dumourier began by abolishing the privileged orders, the religious institutions, and, in general, every establishment whatever, how dear and venerable foever they might be in the eyes of the people : he declared indeed that the fovereignty was vested in the people, and was to be exercised by the public will; but it was always found extremely convenient to him to direct that will by the all powerful argument of the bayonet. How agreeable his arrival in the Netherlands was to the people, by his employing threats to procure a general illumination on the entrance into Bruffels of their deliverer; how well disposed they were to adopt the French Constitution, appeared from this circumstance, that when the people met at Bruffels in the Primary Affembly, for the purpose of choosing a provisional government, a hollow square of French troops was drawn about the Tree of Liberty, to prevent the inhabitants from pulling it down, and cutting to pieces this emblem of French freedom.

By the decree of the 19th of November last, they absolutely held out an encouragement to infurrection in every country in the world. By this decree they promifed to grant fraternity to every nation that would rife against its rulers. This idea of granting, was no doubt very confistent with the idea of equality, of which they boafted fo much; it would be matter of curiofity, to fee what kind of liberty they would give to their younger brothers of other states. When this decree was passed, there was no doubt but England was within the contemplation of France, and also every country in the world to which either their arms or their principles could reach. It was clear that they had it constantly in their mind to extend their empire, and to annex to it every flate which they could seduce into their boasted fraternity. It became England, therefore, not to wait till they should have swallowed up one state after another, but to stand forward, and by a vigorous exertion fet bounds to an ambition infinitely greater than had ever entered into the breast of the

If any man was of opinion that he injured the French in faying, that they really intended to extend their empire, by annexing to it every country which they might overrun with their arms, he would in addition to the case of Savoy, mention the conduct of the Convention on the occasion of an address from the people of Mons, in which they desired that the province of Hainault might be incorporated with France. The Convention referred the address to a committee to report the form in which countries wishing to unite with France were to be received into the union. This shewed that the receiving them was to be a fixed and permanent system, which in its consequences, if not timely pre-

ented.

vented, must destroy the independence and liberty of England. When the French found themselves masters of the Netherlands they shewed how completely they difregarded their declarations to the King of England, in which they affured him that they would respect the rights of his allies; for without the smallest provocation on the part of Holland, they resolved to deprive her of what had been her right from the treaty of Munster to that of 1785, the exclusive navigation of the Scheldt. France could have no right to interfere in this business, unless the had declared herself either the absolute sovereign of the Netherlands, or the general arbitress of the fate and liberties of Europe; and even in either of these characters, she ought to have respected this right of the Dutch; for in the former case, the could be faid only to have become entitled to the rights which the House of Austria enjoyed; and if the took the fovereignty, with all its advantages, the must take it also with all its incumbrances, of which the shutting up of the Scheldt was one. In the latter case, she would not have been at liberty to open the Scheldt, for the herfelf was a party in the treaty of 1785, and pledged herself to secure to Holland the exclusive navigation of that river. She could not pretend to fay that this treaty was not binding upon her, because it was made before the was free; for the had fince confirmed it; and declared that the would maintain the rights of the allies of England, and this was one of them. Some gentlemen had feemed to think, that Holland fet no value upon this right, because she had not applied to us for force to maintain it; and they feemed to think, at the same time, that we ought not to arm, unless we should be required to do so by our allies the Dutch. To this he would reply, that Holland had not renounced the right; that the had protested against, as against an act of violence, the failing of the French frigates up the Scheldt, and was in apprehension of a repetition of the violence. If the had not immediately called upon us for affiftance, the might perhaps have been influenced by motives of policy; and her forbearance ought not to be pronounced to arise from her indifference about the navigation of the Scheldt. If when Antwerp was taken, Holland had applied to England, the French might have immediately overrun her territory. In her present situation, independent of any treaty, it would ill become England to be asked for affistance, when the independence of an useful ally was at stake, and Holland in danger of becoming a province to France. At fuch a moment it was her interest, it was her duty to arm, and stand forward to set limits to French aggrandizement, and if possible to render abortive all her views and schemes of ambition. If England had to complain of the conduct of the French towards her allies, the had still more ground for complaining of their conduct towards herfelf. The . Ss 2

The decree of the 19th of November was an attack upon every covernment in Europe, and that England was not out of their view on that occasion, appeared from the gracious reception which they gave to British subjects appearing at the bar of the Convention, whom they treated as the genuine representatives of the people of England. It had been observed in the early part of the Selfion, that too much importance had been attached whis Majesty's Ministers to the reception given to deputies from clubs, too obsence and infignificant to deserve attention. But the neception which they received from the Convention showed that there was no body of men in this country fo infignificant in their numbers, fo profligate in their characters, fo defperate in their views, or to questionable even with respect to their aggregate existence, as to be below the attention of the National Convention, who would endeavour to give them a eveight by French affiftance, which they could not derive from their countrymen, from their characters, numbers, principles, or fortunes. It was true indeed, that an attempt had been made by the Executive Council to explain away what was objectionable in the above decree, but the explanation rather made bad worfe: it was as follows: " Now, to come to the three points which can alone make an object of difficulty at the court of London, the Executive Council observe, respecting the first, which is the decree of the 19th of November, that we have not been properly understood by the Ministry of his Britannic Majesty, when they accuse us of having given an explanation swhich announces to the feditions of all nations what are the cales in which they may previously count on the support and affiftance of France. Nothing could be more foreign than this reproach to the fentiments of the National Convention, and to the explanation we have given of them; and we did not think that it were possible we should be charged with the open design of favouring the feditious, at the very moment when we declare, chat it would be wronging the National Convention if they were charged with the project of protecting infurrections, and with the commotions that may break out in any corner of a state, of joining the ringleaders, and of thus making the cause of a few private individuals that of the French nation.

We have faid, and we defire to repeat, that the decree of the 19th of November could not have any application; unless to the lingle cale in which the general will of a nation, clearly and unequivocally expressed, should call the French nation to its affiftance and fraternity. Sedition can certainly never be construed into the general will. These two ideas mutually repel cach other, since a sedition is not, and cannot be, any other than the movement of a small number against the nation at large;

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and this movement would ceale to be feditious, provided all the members of a lociety should at once rife, either to correct their government, or to change its form in toto, or for any other obrect. The Dutch were affuredly not feditious, when they formed the generous relolution of making off the yoke of Spain. and when the general will of that nation called for the affiftance of France, it was not reputed a crime in Henry the Fourth, or in Elizabeth of England, to have liftened to them. The knowledge of the general will is the only balis of the transactions of nations with each other; and we can only treat with any government whatever on this principle, that fuch a government is deemed the organ of the general will of the nation governed. Thus, when by this natural interpretation the decree of the 10th of November is reduced to what it truly implies, it will be found, that it announces nothing more than an act of the gene ral will, and that beyond any doubt, and so effectually founded in right, that it was scarcely worth the trouble to express it. On this account the Executive Council thinks that the evidence of this right might perhaps have been dispensed with by the National Convention, and did not deserve to be made the object of a particular decree. But with the interpretation which precedes it, it cannot give uneafiness to any nation whatever." It had already appeared that the French had contrived to direct the public will on every occasion, when they found opportunity, by means of the perfuafive influence of bayonets and cannon; they had also reserved to themselves the right of declaring what they thought was the public will; and the affurances of support which they held out to infurgents, might be confidered as advertising for treaton and rebellion by wholesale; and whilst such a principle was fuffered to prevail, there could be no peace, no government in Europe.

It was to be remarked, by way of shewing what reliance was to be placed upon French professions of forbearance, that within four days after the above explanation was given by Mons. Chauvelin in London, and before the answer to it given by Lord Grenville could have reached Paris, a letter was addressed by the Naval Minister of France to all the sea ports of that country;

of which Mr. Pitt read the following extract:

The government of England is arming, and the King of Spain, encouraged by this, is preparing to attack us. These two tyrannical powers, after persecuting the patriots on their own territories, think, no doubt, that they shall be able to influence the judgment to be pronounced on the tyrant Louis. They hope to frighten us. But, no; a people who has made itself free; a people who has driven out of the bosom of France, and as far as the distant borders of the Rhine, the terrible army of

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the Pruffians and Austrians—the people of France will not suffer

laws to be dictated to them by a tyrant.

"The King and his Parliament mean to make war against us. Will the English Republicans suffer it?—Already these free men shew their discontent, and the repugnance which they have to bear arms against their brothers the French.—Well! we will sly to their succour.—We will make a descent in the island—We will lodge there fifty thousand caps of liberty—we will plant there the facred tree, and we stretch out our arms to our republican brethren. The tyranny of their government will soon be desiroyed. Let every one of us be strongly impressed with this idea.

MONGE."

Here was fetting up, faid Mr. Pitt, a power paramount to King and Parliament, and which was to controul both: if such infulting language was to be borne, there must soon be an end of the happiness, tranquillity, and prosperity of Europe. But this infult, great as it is, was not all; in the very paper which contained the above explanation, was the following concluding paragraph:- " After fo frank a declaration, which manifests fuch a fincere defire of peace, his Britannic Majesty's Ministers ought not to have any doubts with regard to the intentions of France. If her explanations appear infufficient, and if we are still obliged to hear a haughty language; if hostile preparations are continued in the English ports; after having exhausted every means to preferve peace, we will prepare for war, with a fense of the justice of our cause, and of our efforts to avoid this extremity: we will fight the English, whom we esteem, with regret, but we will fight them without fear." This was the last paper that was delivered by M. Chauvelin on the subject of this dispute, and might therefore be called the ultimatum of the Executive Council. This menace of war was not to be borne; and things were now brought to fuch a pass by it, that it would be impossible to preserve peace much longer, unless either England should recede from her demands, or France should withdraw this THREAT-ENING ULTIMATUM. Unless one of these alternatives should take place, it WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO AVOID A WAR; and IT WOULD BE DISGUISING HIS OWN OPINION, IF HE SHOULD SAY THAT HE BELIEVED IT COULD BE AVOIDED. The precife moment when war would take place, he could not take upon himself to affert; it would depend upon circumstances; but let war come when it would, it would be more defirable, because less dangerous and less pernicious than a peace precarious and infecure, and which could not be maintained without the facrifice of every principle of religion, morality, justice, interest, and found policy. He concluded a long speech with the following motion:

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"That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the thanks of this House, for his most gracious Message, and the communication of the papers, which, by his Majesty's command, have been laid before us.

"To offer his Majesty our heart-felt condolence on the atrocious act lately perpetrated at Paris, which must be viewed by every nation in Europe as an outrage on religion, justice, and humanity; and as a striking and dreadful example of the effects of principles which lead to the violation of the most facred duties, and are utterly subversive of the peace and order

" of all civil fociety.

"To affure his Majesty that it is impossible for us not to be sensible of the views of aggrandizement and ambition, which in violation of repeated and solemn professions have been openly manisested on the part of France, and which are connected with the propagation of principles incompatible with the exsistence of all just and regular government; that under the present circumstances we consider a vigorous and effectual opposition to those views as effential to the security of every thing that is most dear and valuable to us as a nation, and to the future tranquillity and safety of all other countries.

"That impressed with these sentiments we shall, with the utmost zeal and alacrity, afford his Majesty the most effectual
affishance to enable his Majesty to make a further augmentation of his forces by sea and land, and to act as circumstances
may require in the present important conjuncture for maintaining the security and honour of his crown, for supporting
the just rights of his allies, and for preserving to his people
the undisturbed enjoyment of the blessings which under the
divine Providence they receive from the British Constitution."

Lord BEAUCHAMP seconded the motion. He said he did not blame his Majesty's Ministers for not having interfered sooner in the business of France; perhaps the people would not have borne it, and it was the duty of a Minister to be directed by what he conceived to be the general sense of the nation. If he (Lord Beauchamp) would have approved an earlier interference, no doubt he felt himself bound to support government at present, because it was not yet too late to effect the salvation of Europe, by fetting bounds to the ambition and aggrandizement of France. The time was, when the smallest acquisition of territory gained by that nation would have thrown England into a When the Duke de Choiseul in the zenith of his power leized upon Avignon, infignificant as was the acquisition, it threw Europe into a flame, which would have burit out into war, if the Duke had not prevented it by restoring that city to

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the Pope, its lawful Sovereign. His Lordship said, he remembesed very well what were the opinions of the leading men in Parliament at the time when the French undertook to make a conquest of the Island of Corlica; many of them were perfuaded that to prevent, such a measure it was the interest of England to arm, and run all the hazard of a war. By annexing Savoy to this empire, the French shewed that aggrandisement was their object. Their conduct in the Netherlands equally shewed that they intended to rule these Provinces as their own: the consequences to England, of the Flemish ports being in the hands of France, must to the most ordinary statesmen appear to be to the last degree alarming. It was now 250 years since Philip de Commes, writing upon the subject of the fall of the House of Burgundy, in the time of Louis XI. and the transfer of the ports of Boulogne, &c. to France, observed that this transfer ought to alarm England, and that unless the consequences were timely prevented, they must prove fatal to the liberties and inde-

pendence of that kingdom, and of all Europe.

If gentlemen would look at the map of Brabant, they would fee that the port of Antwerp on the Scheldt, lying opposite our coast, between the mouths of the Thames and the Medway, would in the hands of the French prove destructive to the British trade, and deprive England of the dominion of the narrow leas. It would do more; for Brabant, fitnated as it was respecting Holland, would, in the hands of the French, enable them to rule that Republic at their pleasure, or pull it down if they pleafed, or govern it under its present form by means of their Ambastadors at the Hague, who would leave the Dutch only the shadow of liberty and independence. Queen Elizabeth opposed sometimes France, sometimes Spain; but her soundest policy was raining up a new power, the Republic of Holland, which might be a check upon either, and a barrier to England against both: this was truly found policy, and it would be thewing a total diffegard for our own interest, if we were to leave that State exposed to the danger of being swallowed up by France. Holland and England were natural allies; it was true they had fometimes quarrelled, but they had feen their error, and ought to unite in jealoufy and detestation of the people who had made them enemies.

Before he should sit down, his Lordship said, there were two points on which he would take the liberty of saying a few words—one was the recall of Lord Gower, the other the dismission of Mons. Chauvelin, both of which measures had his most hearty approbation. Before the Noble Lord was recalled, the Government of France was at an end; her Constitution, which had been called a model of free government, was dissolved in a few

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days, and there was no faying when it would be replaced by another. During the interval, it would not have been decent for a British Ambassador to remain at Paris, particularly as the Minsters of the other powers had withdrawn from that city. As to Monf. Chauvelin, he must say it looked rather suspicious that so punctilious a nation as France should leave an Ambassador here after ours had been recalled; he believed it was generally understood, that Ambassadors were at best but privileged or honourable spies; and he was inclined to think that only for the purpose of having a spy upon our public conduct, and an agent that might forward their feditious views, that the Executive Council kept Monf. Chauvelin here: for his part he was very glad that he was gone, and he wished that he had been ordered away fooner, for there were occasions in which resident Ambassadors might do great mischief. In the year 1712, when it was known that England was going to make a feparate peace, the then Imperial Ambaffador at our Court delivered in a strong Memorial to our Minister, and caused it to be printed the next day in the public newspapers, for which he was ordered to quit

the court and kingdom.

The removal of Ambassadors did not necessarily prevent negociation, for the diplomatic art had deviled means for enabling two nations, though actually at war, to treat through the medium of a neutral power: when a war was declared, the belligerent nations recalled their Ministers; but did it follow that the war was therefore to be eternal? War was certainly a calamity, but not fo great a one as a hollow peace. Whether it broke out a little fooner or a little later, was of little confequence, if it broke out at all. In the present instance we might expect a fpeedy and a happy termination of it; for all Europe would be on our fide: He was aware that confederacies did not always act well together; but the reason was obvious, the parties composing it rarely had a common interest, or would hold out till the general interest required a general peace. In the present contest the case was different; the Emperor would, no doubt, strain every nerve to recover his beautiful provinces in the Netherlands; the King of Pruffia would feel it necessary to recover the reputation of the victorious arms of his late uncle, a reputation on which was the main prop of the Prussian Monarchy; Holland would have to contend for her very existence; Italy was interested in taking from France Savoy, the key of Italy, and restoring it to the King of Sardinia; and Spain and Portugal must see the danger to their governments, if the French arms and French principles were not timely checked. In such a state of affairs England had every reason to look for a general, a powerful, and a cordial cooperation of the greatest part of Europe against France. For Tt thefa

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these reasons, he said, he was determined to give his most hearty Support to the Address moved by the Right Honourable. Gentle-

man.

The EARL of WYCOMBE faid that he conceived it to be his most indispensable duty to use every argument in his power to avert from his country fo grievous a calamity as that of entering into a war; a calamity of such a nature as to leave only a doubt as to the extent of ills which might probably refult from it; and he conjured the House not to agree to the proposed Address till they had well confidered the confequences. This country, his Lordship said, was in no danger whatever, being equally secured by its infular fituation, its internal refources, and the strong attachment of the people to the constitution; he conceived therefore that we had no ground for alarm on the first

point mentioned in the Message from his Majesty.

As to the second point, the security of our allies, his Lordship faid it was impossible we could be told that Prussia had been attacked by France, and of course this part of the message must relate to Holland. If the navigation of the Scheldt was the fubject of dispute, it appeared to him to be a matter of indifference to this country; except that in one view it would be of great advantage to our commerce and manufactures, by opening a new channel in the best and most convenient situation for sending our manufactures into all the continent of Europe. From feveral circumstances, it would be idle and impolitic for the Dutch themselves to meditate war, and they seem by no means disposed to do fo; - shall we then urge them to refistance, and menace

France with war?

With regard to the next point in his Majesty's Message, the propagation of French principles, he thought by no means fafe to go to war against principles. If the principles alluded to were levelling principles, they should be met with contempt; but he by no means reprobated all the French principles.—Great stress had been laid on the cruelties perpetrated in France; but he could not think that they were a proper cause of war: in his opinion these cruelties had all originated in the infamous expedition of the Duke of Brunswick; which might be called a fraternity of kings for the purpose of imposing despotism on all Europe.— Among the many reasons which ought to deter us from war, Gentlemen should consider the burdens that would be imposed on the people to carry it on; and he hoped we should not fall into an error with respect to the finances of France, for she had undoubtedly refources which would be fufficient at least for some time.

His Lordship then adverted to the precarious situation of Ireland; and stated that, and several other reasons, which induced him

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him to deprecate the involving this country in a war with France, and to give his negative to the motion for the Address.

Mr. WHITBREAD begun with declaring his abhorrence of the atrocious act which had been just perpetrated in France, which he said stood foremost in the black catalogue of crimes; but which he was inclined to attribute, with the noble Lord who spoke last, to the combined armies, and to the extraordinary manifestoes of the Duke of Brunswick, which bear the character of the horrid threats of barbarians, with whom to conquer is to destroy, rather than of the sentiments of a great nation in the end of the eighteenth century. It is said, indeed, by way of palliation, that the letter of these manifestoes was never intended to be put in execution; but have we any pledge that that would not have been done, particularly if we look at the treatment of the unfortunate victims which fell into their hands?—FAYETTE is now lingering in the dungeon of some German fortress.

He faid he wished for peace as connected with prosperity, and for prosperity as connected with the honour of the country. He called the attention of the House to this most momentous question, Whether, said he, have Ministers done their best, or are there any means left by which war can be avoided?—If we were to go to war, it appeared to him that the purpose of it would be to destroy the French government, and he thought that we had no

right to go to war on that account.

The decree of the 19th of November had been stated as a reaion for war, and the preferving the balance of Europe by checking the aggrandizement of France. We had recently feen, without apprehension, the aggrandizement of Russia by the acquilition of Poland: that of France, it is faid, is connected with the propagation of dangerous principles, but are we not afraid of despotism? The ghost of the departed liberties of Poland calls aloud for vengeance. - With respect to the fubject of the Scheldt, he had already given an opinion, which is partly expressed in the decree of the 19th of November. But although he concurred in the natural right of the free navigation and use of rivers, yet he certainly thought that this natural right might be limited by special compacts, in subsisting treaties; but the nearer every matter of that kind could be brought to natural justice the better; and the right of the free navigation of the Scheldt had been formerly enjoyed by the Antwerpers. England did not inter-fere when Joseph II. aimed at opening that navigation; and he did not at present find, by any public notoriety, that the Dutch wished to go to war: the contrary indeed seemed to appear from a fate document of theirs respecting a fast.

He could see no ground for war, and could not vote for the Address. The versatility and unaccountable conduct of Minis-

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ters was truly wonderful :- within these few years the whole halance of power in Europe appeared to them endangered by the Empress of Ruffia's possession of Oczakow:-they lately faw her trample on the liberties of Poland with perfect indiffer-

ence.

Mr. ANSTRUTHER faid he viewed the late atrocious act with the utmost horror, and heartily joined in that part of the Address which offered their condolence to his Majesty on the mournful occasion. In adverting to the conduct of France, he faid, he could not help remarking the difference betwixt that conduct when under a monarchy crippled as it was after the King's acceptance of the new Constitution, and what it now was: they had attacked the imperial cities, and had taken Brabant into their hands. He then mentioned their communication with focieties in this country, and their dangerous principles; and faid, that Monsieur Chauvelin, alluding to those very focieties, had stated in an official paper, that the French had received the English as brothers. As to the decree of the 10th of November, which he reprobated in the strongest terms, it is faid to have been explained; but what is the explanation?—totally unsatisfactory and inconsistent with the decree itself. It is in fact a declaration against every existing government on earth. With respect to the business of the Scheldt, he protested in the strongest manner against the application of general principles against the faith of treaties. He was glad, however, that the grounds of war had been stated on so broad a basis. In fact the French now fay, that having overturned their own old government, they are not bound by any of its treaties; a principle totally inconfident with every notion of juffice, and with the laws and faith of nations.

Mr. Anstruther then adverted to the infinite danger to be apprehended from the propagation of French principles; but we are asked, faid he, whether we can combat principles by the fword:-most certainly, if they are propagated by the sword they must be stopped by the sword. Honourable Gentlemen had charged on the Duke of Brunswick the origin of the murders and maffacres in France: but was it their enemies whom the French had murdered? No, it was their brethren. Supposing wars to be carried on with cruelty, there can be no comparison betwixt the two; befides the manifesto was never intended to be put into execution. He faid he looked on the conduct of France as expressly hostile to this country. They had interfered in our internal polity with respect to the alien bill; and in his opinion we ought to league with every power that would league with us in opposition to them. If liberty were of the nature held out by them, be would fly, he faid, from the altar of liberty; and he concluded

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concluded with heartily concurring in the motion for the Addrefs.

Mr. FOX faid, that although some words had fallen from the Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Pitt) which might lead him to think that war was not absolutely determined upon, yet the general tenor and impression of his speech was such as to induce him to enter somewhat at large into the subject -as to convince him that there never was a time when the duty, not merely to his immediate constituents, but to the whole people of Great Britain, of whom the Members of that House were individually and collectively the virtual representatives, more impenously called upon him, and upon every man, to speak out and declare his fentiments frankly and fairly. The mifrepresentations and misconstructions of what he, and those who thought as he did, had already faid in the course of the present session. left him no room to doubt, that what he now must say would be equally, and, perhaps, as fuccessfully misrepresented and misconfirmed. This only ferved to shew, that they were on a fervice of honour as well as danger; but if mifreprefentation and calumny were to deter him from delivering opinions because they might be unpopular, from deprecating a war with France, as an evil to be avoided by every possible means consistent with the honour and fafety of us and our allies, he should basely betray his truft to his constituents and his country.

The Right Honourable Gentleman had introduced the feveral grounds of dispute with France ably and accurately; but the reafons for going to war, he did not mean to fay for arming, had not been very accurately treated. The crimes, the murders, and the maffacres that had been committed in France, he did not view with less horror, he did not consider as less atrocious than those who made them the perpetual theme of their declamation. although he put them entirely out of the question in the present The condemnation and execution of the King he pronounced an act as difgraceful as any that history records; and whatever opinions he might at any time have expressed in private conversation, he had expressed none certainly in that House on the justice of bringing Kings to trial; revenge being unjustifiable, and punishment useless, where it could not operate either as prevention or example, he did not view with less detestation the injustice and inhumanity that had been committed towards that unhappy monarch. Not only were the rules of criminal justice. rules that more than any other ought to be strictly observed; not only was he tried and condemned, without any existing law to which he was personally amenable, and even contrary to laws that did actually exist; but the degrading circumstance of his imprisonment, the unnecessary and insulting asperity with which

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he had been treated, the total want of republican magnanimity in the whole transaction, (for even in that House, it could be no offence to fay, that there might be fuch a thing as magnanimity in a Republic) added every aggravation to the inhumanity and injustice. Now having said all this as the genuine expression of his feelings and his reason, he saw neither propriety nor wisdom in that House passing judgment on any act committed in another nation, which had no direct reference to us. The general maxim of policy always was, that the crimes perpetrated in one independent state were not cognizable by another. Need he remind the House of our former conduct in this respect?—Had we not treated, had we not formed alliances with Portugal and with Spain, at the very time when these kingdoms were differed and polluted by the most shocking and barbarous acts of superstition and cruelty, of racks, torture, and burning, under the abominable tyranny of the inquisition?—Did we ever make these outrages against reason and humanity a pretext for war?—Did we ever enquire how the Princes with whom we had relative interests either obtained or exercised their power?—Why then were the enormities of the French in their own country held up

as a cause of war?

Much of these enormities had been attributed to the attack of the combined powers; but this he neither confidered as an excuse, nor would argue as a palliation. If they dreaded, or had felt an attack, to retaliate on their fellow citizens, however much fulpected, was a proceeding which justice disclaimed; and he had flattered himself, that when men were disclaiming old, and professing to adopt new principles, those of perfecution and revenge would be the first that they would discard. No man felt greater horror at the proceedings of the combined powers than he did. A combination more dangerous to the tranquillity of Europe, and the liberties of mankind, had never been formed. It had been faid, that Austria was not the aggressor in the war with France.—Had those who faid so, seen the treaty of Pilnitz?—Let them look at that treaty, take the golden rule of supposing themselves in the situation of the French, and judging of others as they would wish to be judged, and say whether or not the French had been the aggressors. But whatever might be thought of Austria, was the King of Prussia attacked by France?—Were his territories menaced, or his allies infulted?— Had he not been completely the aggressor, he would have called upon us as his allies for fuccour; no fuch call had ever been heard of—a sufficient proof, if any proof were wanting, that he never considered himself but as engaging in an offensive war.-What were the principles of these combined powers? They saw a new form of government establishing in France, and they

agreed to invade the kingdom, to mould its government according to their own caprice, or to restore the despotism which the French had overthrown. Was it for the fafety of English liberty, (liberty that might still be mentioned without offence) that if we should make any change in our form of government, or constitution, and that change should be disagreeable to foreign powers, they should be considered as having a right to combine, and replace what we had rejected, or give us any thing else in its room by fire and fword?—He would not go over the atrocious manifestoes that preceded or followed the march of the combined armies; there was not a man in that House, or at least but one (Mr. Burke) who would attempt to defend them. But these it seemed were not to be executed—he hoped they were not; but the only fecurity he knew of was. that those who issued them had not the means. What was their conduct? Their mode of raising money was at least as bad as that with which the French were reproached. The French confiscated property where they carried their arms; the Duke of Brunswick took what he wanted, and gave papers for it in the name of the unfortunate monarch whom he pretended to He contracted debts in the name of the French King, which he knew the French King might never have the means or the inclination to pay-and this swindling trick, for which any man in this country would have been convicted and punished, he continued after he had begun his retreat. Yet we stood by and-faw all this without alarm, certainly without interference. We perceived no danger in the fuccess of despotism; but the moment the opposite cause became successful, our fears were extreme.

He should now shew that all the topics to which he had adalverted were introduced into the debate to blind the judgment, by rousing the passions, and were none of them the just grounds of war. These grounds were three:—the danger of Holland; the Decree of the French Convention of Nov. 19th; and the general danger to Europe from the progress of the French arms.—With respect to Holland, the conduct of Ministers afforded a stellar proof of their disingenuousness. They could not state that the Dutch had called upon us to sulfil the terms of our alliance. They were obliged to confess that no such requisition had been made; but added, that they knew the Dutch were very much disposed to make it. Whatever might be the words of the treaty, we were bound in honour, by virtue of that treaty, to protect the Dutch, if they called upon us to do so, but

neither by honour nor the treaty till then.

The conduct of the Dutch was very unfortunate upon this occasion. In the order for a general fast by the States, it was expressly

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expressly faid, " that their neutrality seemed to put them in security amid furrounding armies, and had hitherto effectively protected them from moleftation."-This he by no means confirmed into giving up the opening of the Scheldt on their part; but it pretty clearly shewed, that they were not disposed to make it the cause of a war, unless forced to do so by us. But France had broke faith with the Dutch—was this a cause for us to go to war?-How long was it fince we confidered a circumstance tending to diminish the good understanding between France and Holland as a misfortune to this country?—The plain state of the matter was, that we were bound to fave Holland from war. or by war if called upon; and that to force the Dutch into a war at fo much peril to them, which they faw and dreaded, was not to fulfil, but to abuse the treaty. Hence he complained of the difingenuous conduct of Ministers, in imputing that to the

Dutch which the Dutch wished to avoid.

The decree of the 19th of November he confidered as an infult; and the explanation of the Executive Council as no adequate fatisfaction; but the explanation shewed that the French were not disposed to insist upon that decree, and that they were inclined to peace; and then our Ministers, with haughtiness unexampled, told them, they had infulted us, but refused to tell them the nature of the fatisfaction that we required. It was said we must have security; and he was ready to admit that nelther a disavowal by the Executive Council of France, nor a tacit repeal by the Convention, on the intimation of an unacknowledged agent, of a decree, which they might renew the day after they repealed it, would be a fufficient fecurity. But at least we ought to tell them what we meant by security, for it was the extreme of arrogance to complain of infult without deigning to explain what reparation we required; and he feared an indefinite term was here employed, not for the purpole of obtaining, but of precluding fatisfaction. Next it was faid, they must withdraw their troops from the Austrian Netherlands, before we could be fatisfied. Were we then come to that pitch of infolence as to fay to France, " you have conquered part of an enemy's territory who made war upon you, we will not interfere to make peace, but we require you to abandon the advantages you have gained, while he is preparing to attack you anew." Was this the neutrality we meant to hold out to France? " If you are invaded and beaten, we will be quiet spectators; but if you hurt your enemy, if you enter his territory, we declare against you." If the invasion of the Austrian Netherlands was what now alarmed us, and that it ought to alarm us if the relult was to make the country an appendage to France, there could be no doubt we ought to have interpoled to prevent it in the

very first instance; for it was the natural consequence which every man forelaw of a war between France and Austria. The French now faid, they would evacuate the country at the conclusion of the war, and when its liberties were established. Was this sufficient? by no means, but we ought to tell them what we would deem fufficient, instead of faying to them, as we were now faying, " this is an aggravation, this is nothing, and this is infufficient," That war was unjust which told not an enemy the ground of provocation, and the measure of atonement—it was as impolitic as unjust, for without the object of contest, clearly and definitively stated, what opening could there be for treating of peace? Before going to war with France, furely the people who must pay and must suffer, ought to be informed on what object they were to fix their hopes for its honourable termination. After five or fix years war, the French might agree to evacuate the Netherlands as the price of peace; was it clear that they would not do so now, if we would condescend to propose it in intelligible terms? Surely in fuch an alternative, the experiment was worth trying: but then we had no fecurity against the French principles. What fecurity would they be able to give us after a war which they could not give now?

With respect to the general danger of Europe, the same arguments applied, and to the fame extent. To the general fituation and fecurity of Europe we had been so scandalously inattentive; we had feen the entire conquest of Poland and the invasion of France, with fuch marked indifference, that it would be difficult now to take it up with the grace of fincerity; but even this would be better provided for, by proposing terms before going to

He had thus shewn that none of the professed causes were grounds for going to war. What then remained but the internal government of France, always disavowed but ever kept in mind, and constantly mentioned? The destruction of that government was the avowed object of the combined powers whom it was hoped we were to join; and we could not join them heartily if our object were one thing while theirs was another, for in that case the party whose object was first obtained might naturally be expected to make separate terms, and there could be no cordiality nor confidence. To this then we came at last, that we were ashamed to own engaging to aid the restoration of despotism, and collusively fought pretexts in the Scheldt and the Netherlands. Such would be the real cause of the war, if war we were to have—a war, which he trusted, he should soon see as gene-a rally execrated as it was now thought to be popular. He knew that for this wish he should be represented as holding up the internal government of France as an object for imitation. Het Uu

thought the present state of government in France nothing less; but he maintained as a principle inviolable, that the government of every independent state was to be settled by those who were to live under it, and not by foreign force. The conduct of the French in the Netherlands was the same with such a war as he was now deprecating, and might be an omen of its success. It was a war of pikes and bayonets against opinions; it was the tyranny of giving liberty by compulsion; it was an attempt to introduce a system among a people by force, which the more it was forced upon them the more they abhorred. The French appeared less moderate, from pretending to be more so, than other nations; by overturning the ancient government, and imposing theories of their own, on a people who difliked them, while they pretended to liberate, instead of using their right to conquest. But was this such a crime in the eyes of Europe? As was faid of the woman caught in adultery, which of the courts -would that of London or Berlin cast the first stone? The thates of Brabant, they were told, had, pacta Conventa, a legal and free government of their own. But were the states free under the House of Austria, under Joseph, Leopold, or Francis?-O yes—for when Dumourier was triumphantly entering Bruffels, and the Austrian governors making their escape at a postern, they fent back a declaration to the States, restoring their Magna Charta, the Joyeuse Entrée, which had been the perpetual subject of dispute with their sovereign, and which all their remonstrances could never obtain before. This was the government that acted with some honour to its subjects, and put the French to shame. He feared that if they were to examine the conduct of foreign powers, in point of honour and good faith, they must be compelled to speak less civilly of them then policy would dic-Why, then, had he touched upon it? Because the conduct of France was perpetually introduced to inflame and delude, and it was his duty to dispel the delusion, by shewing that it was not more exceptionable than that of its neighbours.

In all decisions on peace or war, it was important to consider what we might lose, and what we could gain. On the one hand, extension of territory was neither expected nor eligible. On the other, though he feared not the threat of the French Marine Minister, would any man say that our Ally might not suffer; that the events of war might not produce a change in the internal state of Holland, and in the situation of the Stadtholder, too afflicting for him to anticipate? In weighing the probable danger, every consideration ought to be put into the scale. Was the state of Ireland such as to make war desirable? That was a subject said by some to be too delicate to be touched upon; but he approved not of that delicacy which taught men

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to thut their eyes to danger. The ftate of Ireland he was not afraid to mention. He thought it both promiting and alarming promiting, because the government of this country had forced the government of that to an acknowledgment of the undoubted nights of a great majority of the people of Ireland, after having in a former festion treated their humble petition with contempt, and in the fummer endeavoured to ftir up the Protestants against the Catholics—alarming, because the gross misconduct of admihistration had brought the government and the legislature into contempt in the eyes of the people. Here he called on his Right Honourable Friend (Mr. Wyndham) who had given the aid of his great talents, as Secretary in Ireland, to an administration with which he had the honour of being connected—on the fame principle on which he had declared, that he would support ministers when they had done mischief enough to be formidable. when they brought the country into a fituation fufficiently perilous-to accept of the fame fituation again, and avert the danger which they had created. He hoped the plan to be purfued would be conciliatory, that concession to the claims of the people would be deemed wisdom, and the time of danger the fit time for reform—in short, in every thing contrary to the declarations of the Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Pitt) here.

The people of this country loved their Constitution. They had experienced its benefits—they were attached to it from habit. Why put their love to any unnecessary test? That love by being tried could not be made greater, nor would the fresh burthens and taxes, which war must occasion, more endear it to their affection. If there were any danger from French principles, to go to war without necessity was to fight

for their propagation.

On these principles, as reprobated in the proposed Address, he would freely give his opinion. It was not the principles that were bad and to be reprobated, but the abuse of them. From the abuse, not the principles, had flowed all the evils that afflicted France. The use of the word Equality by the French was deemed highly objectionable. When taken as they meant it, nothing was more innocent; for what did they fay, "all men are equal in respect of their rights." To this he affented; all men had equal rights, equal rights to unequal things; one man to a shilling, another to a thousand pounds; one man to a cottage, another to a palace; but the right in both was the same; an equal right of enjoying, an equal right of inheriting or acquiring, and of possessing inheritance or acquisition. The effect of the proposed Address was to condemn not the abuse of those principles, and the French had much abused them, but the principles themselves. To this he could not affent, for they were Uu 2

the principles on which all just and equitable government was founded. He had already differed fufficiently with a Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Burke) on this fubject, not to wish to provoke any fresh difference; but even against so great an authority he must say, that the people are the sovereign in every state, that they have a right to change the form of their government, and a right to cashier their governors for misconduct, as the people of this country cashiered James II. not by a Parliament, or any regular form known to the Constitution, but by a Convention speaking the sense of the people; that convention produced a Parliament and a King. They elected William to a vacant throne, not only setting aside fames, whom they had justly cashiered for misconduct, but his innocent son. Again they elected the House of Brunswick, not individually, but by dynasty; and that dynasty to continue while the terms and conditions on which it was elected are fulfilled, and no longer. He could not admit the right to do all this but by acknowledging the fovereignty of the people as paramount to all other laws. But it was faid, that although we had once exercised this power, we had in the very act of exercising it renounced it for ever .-We had neither renounced it, nor, if we had been so disposed, was fuch a renunciation in our power. We elected first an individual, then a dynasty, and lastly passed an Act of Parliament, in the reign of Queen Anne, declaring it to be the right of the people of this realm to do so again without even assigning a reason. If there were any persons among us who doubted the superior wisdom of our Monarchical form of Government, their error was owing to those who changed its strong and irrefragable foundation in the right and choice of the people, to a more flimfy ground of title. Those who proposed repelling opinions by force, the example of the French in the Netherlands might teach the impotence of power to repel, or to introduce. But how was a war to operate in keeping opinions supposed dangerous out of this country It was not furely meant to beat the French out of their own opinions—and opinions were not like commodities, the importation of which from France war would prevent. War, it was to be lamented, was a paffion inherent in the nature of man; and it was curious to observe what at various periods had been the various pretences. In ancient times wars were made for conquest. To these succeeded wars for religion, and the opinions of Luther and of Calvin were attacked with all the fury of superstition and of power. The next pretext was commerce, and it would probably be allowed that no nation that made war for cominerce ever found the object accomplished on concluding peace. Now we were to make war about opinions—what was this but recurring again to an exploded cause, for a war about principles in religion was as much a war about opinions as a

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war about principles in politics. In the excellent fet of papers alluded to by the Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Pitt), and which he had no doubt had been liberally diffributed to the gentlemen who had lately got so many new lights on the French affairs, the atheistical speech of Dupont in the Convention was quoted. Did they believe all the French to be atheifts and unbelievers on account of that speech? If they did so believe, there would certainly be no reason to complain of them for want of faith. But admitting that the French were all atheists, were we going to war with them in order to propagate the Christian religion by means contrary to the precepts of Christ? The justifiable grounds of war were infult, injury, or danger. For the first fatisfaction, for the second reparation, for the third security, was the object. Each of these, too, was the proper object of negociation, which ought ever to precede war, except in case of an attack actually commenced. How had we negociated? not in any public or efficient form; a mode which he suspected, and A Nable lamented, by his proposing it had been prevented. Lord (Beauchamp) had faid that he thought it his duty not to conceal his opinions on fo important an occasion, by absence or by filence; formerly the Noble Lord did not think absence so great a crime. During the nine unfortunate years that he had maintained the same political connections with him (Mr. Fox) the Noble Lord's attendance had not been very affiduous, and he rejoiced to hear that the Noble Lord meant now to compensate for past omissions by future diligence.

When the triple league was formed to check the ambition of Louis the Fourteenth, the contracting parties did not deal fo rigorously by him as we were now told it was effential to the peace of Europe that we should deal by the French. never told Louis that he must renounce all his conquests in order to obtain peace. But then it was faid to be our duty to hate the French for the part they took in the American war, He had heard of a duty to love, but a duty to hate was new to him. That duty, however, ought to direct our hatred to the old government of France—not to the new, which had no hand in the provocation. Unfortunately the new French Government was admitted to be the fucceffor of the old in nothing but its faults and its offences. It was a fucceffor to be hated and to war against; but it was not a successor to be negociated with. He feared, however, that war would be the refult, and from that war, apprehending greater evils than he durst name, he should have shrunk from his duty if he had not endeavoured to obtain an exposition of the distinct causes: of all wars he dreaded that the most which had no definite object, because of such a war it was impossible to see the end. Our war with America had a

definitive

definitive object, an unjust one, indeed, but still definite; and after wading through years on years of expense and blood, after exhausting invectives and terms of contempt on the vagrant Congress, one Adams, one Washington, &cc. &cc. we were compelled at last to treat with this very Congress, and those very men.

The Americans, to the honour of their character, committed no fuch horrid acts as had difgraced the French, but we were as liberal of our obloquy to the former then as to the latter now. If we did but know for what we were to fight, we might look forward with confidence, and exert ourselves with unanimity; but while kept thus in the dark, how many might there be who would believe that we were fighting the battles of despotism.— To undeceive those who might fall into this unhappy delusion, it would be no derogation from the dignity of office to grant an explanation. If the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Pitt) would but yet confider—if he would but fave the country from a war -above all, a war of opinion, however inconfishent with his former declarations his measures might be, he would gladly confent to give him a general amnesty for the whole, and even a Let not the fatal opinion go abroad, that kings vote of thanks. had an interest different from that of their subjects; that between those who had property, and those who had none, there

was not a common cause and common feeling.

He knew that he himself should now be represented the partizan of France, as he had been formerly represented the partizan of America. He was no stranger to the industry with which these and other calumnies were circulated against him, and therefore he was not surprised. But he really was surprised to find that he could not walk the streets without hearing whispers that he and some of his friends had been engaged in improper correspondence with persons in France. If there were any foundation for fuch a charge, the fource of the information could be mentioned: if it were true, it was capable of proof. If any man believed this, he called upon him to state the reasons of his belief. If any man had proofs, he challenged him to produce them. But to what was this owing? the people had been told by their representatives in Parliament that they were surrounded with dangers, and had been shewn none. They were therefore full of suspicion and prompt of belief. All this had a material tendency to impede freedom of discussion, for men would speak with referve, or not speak at all, under the terror of ealumny. He could not be surprised at any aspersion on his character; and therefore he hoped the House would give him the credit of being innocent till an open charge was made; and that if any man heard improper correspondence imputed to him in private, he

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Mr. France try he better and t The c while Thole observ gover faid, more Franc by fe was g gainin conq woul becau ters, In re coun Que of F itlelf can f Righ and | to re So ir as w peop vern prop ing Mr. but gove van

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would believe that he heard a falsehood, which he who circulated

it in secret durst not speak in public,

Mr. WYNDHAM spoke in support of the address. That France was not delirous at present to go to war with this country he was very ready to believe. It would, doubtlefs, much better suit their purpose to take Europe in detail, and attack England the last of the groupe.—War with France was inevitable. The question therefore was, whether it were better to begin it while the prospect was favourable, or wait a future occasion. Those who had regarded the affairs of that country, must have observed that it possessed all the inordinate ambition of the old government, and is much more dangerous. He knew not, he faid, how to form an opinion of the motives of states any more than of men, but by an observation of their conduct, and France appeared like an animal whose appetite grew more sharp by feeding. The danger to be apprehended, he acknowledged, was greater than any thing; the chance of French principles gaining ground here was much to be feared. Had the meditated conquest of Louis the Fourteenth of this country succeeded, it would have been nothing in comparison to the present danger, because most probably it would only have been a change of masters, and the order of civil fociety would have remained the fame. In respect to the principle of interfering in the affairs of other countries, particular rules must govern particular cases. In Queen Elizabeth's time this country interfered in the affairs of Holland, and other instances had occurred; and France itlelf was at prefent interfering in every country into which fhe can force admission. The doctrines that formed the code of the Rights of Man appeared to him to be erroneous both in theory and practice. Nothing, he observed, was more ridiculous than to read an author who attempts to explain the word equality. So incomprehensible was it, that it required annotations as much as would form a pamphlet to be able to understand it. The people at large have not a right to build or pull down the government just according to their caprice. This country was not propagating a religion, but preventing the French from bringing their atheism to us. France had a hatred to this country, Mr. Wyndham observed, not on account of ancient rivalry, but because our constitution is a perpetual contradiction to their government. Who, Mr. Wyndham asked, ever expected advantages from war? Great as is the evil of war, he observed, there must even be something greater, namely, the occasion of it. As the idea that nothing but extirpation could effect the most defirable object of the war, that was viewing the matter in too dreadful a light; it would furely not be furprifing if a peotrial in this

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ple who had of late to often changed their opinion, should in the course of about four years be brought again to alter it.

Lord WILLIAM RUSSEL, though feeling the greatest indignation and horror at the late atrocious deed perpetrated in France, had heard no argument that convinced him either of the necessity or policy of war.

The question was then put on the motion for the address, and

carried without a division .- Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

JANUARY 1, 1793.

No debate. Adjourned to January 3.

JANUARY 3.

No debate. Adjourned to January 5.

JANUARY 5.

This day the Bill, entitled, "An Act for establishing Regula-"tions respecting Aliens arriving in this Kingdom, or resident therein, in certain cases," was brought back from the House of Commons by the Attorney General, Sir George Jackson, and a few other Members. The Attorney General when he delivered the Bill to the Speaker (Lord Kenyon) acquainted his Lordship, that the Commons had agreed to the same, with some amendments; to which they defired their Lordships' concur-

As foon as the Speaker returned to the woolfack, he read the

title of the Bill.

Lord GRENVILLE then moved, that the Bill, so amended, be printed, and taken into consideration on the 7th,

. The House then adjourned to the 7th.

JANUARY, 7.

The House took into consideration the Amendments made to the Bill, " for establishing Regulations respecting Aliens arriving in this kingdom," and the same was accordingly read the first time, afterwards the fecond time, agreed to by the House, and a message ordered to be sent to the Commons to acquaint them therewith.

The further proceeding of the Trial of Warren Haftings, Efq. was, upon motion, put off to Thursday the 14th of Febru-

ary next.

An Order was, upon Motion, made, not to receive any Reports from the Judges upon private Bills after the 17th day of April next.

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JANUARY 8.

The Alien Bill, the Affignat Bill, and the other Bills which were ready, received the Royal Affent by Commission. After which the House adjourned to the 22d.

ANUARY 22.

The House met, but went into no business. Adjourned to the 28th.

JANUARY 28.

The House met this day agreeable to their adjournment. Lord Kenyon fat on the woolfack as Speaker.

The MARQUIS of STAFFORD (Lord Privy Seal) brought down the following Meffage from his Majesty:

" GEORGE R.

"His Majesty has given directions for laying before the House "of Lords copies of feveral papers which have been received "from M. Chauvelin, late Minister Plenipotentiary from the Most Christian King, by His Majesty's Secretary of "State for Foreign Affairs, and of the answers returned thereto; "and likewise copy of an order made by His Majesty in "Council, and transmitted by His Majesty's command to the " faid M. Chauvelin, in consequence of the accounts of the atro-"cious act recently perpetrated at Paris.

"In the present situation of affairs, His Majesty thinks it in-"indifpenfably necessary to make a further augmentation of his "forces both by fea and land, and relies on the known affection "and zeal of the House of Lords, to enable His Majesty to take "the most effectual measures, in the present important conjuncture, for maintaining the fecurity and rights of his own do-"minions, for supporting his allies, and for opposing views of "aggrandifement and ambition on the part of France, which "would be at all times dangerous to the general interests of "Europe, but are peculiarly so when connected with the pro-"pagation of principles which lead to the violation of the most "facred duties, and are utterly subversive of the peace and order " of all civil fociety. " G, R."

Thirty papers of letters that had paffed between Lord Grenville and M. Chanvelin were then presented, and the titles of them read.

These papers are the same as those laid before the House of Commons on this day, where the reader will find them all printed. P. 268. 1 The

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The MARQUIS of STAFFORD moved, that this Meffage be taken into confideration on Thursday next (Jan. 31), and that their Lordships be summoned.

The EARL of LAUDERDALE said, that he took it for granted, that these papers, which were most important, from the confequences they were like to produce, were to be printed. He hoped that it was understood they would be printed in time, so as to be delivered before the Message should come under their confideration.

The MARQUIS of STAFFORD faid, that as the House was to meet on Wednesday (Jan. 30), he had no doubt but that fuch of the papers as were meant to be printed, would be ready for delivery to their Lordships on that day.

The order was therefore made for summoning the House for Jan. 31.

TOTAL ELECTRIC TOTAL

Adjourned to Jan. 30.

something the property and the second of JANUARY 30. DECOLLATION OF CHARLES I.

JANUARY 31.

The MARQUIS of STAFFORD (in the absence of Lord Grenville, whose father-in-law, Lord Camelford, was lately dead) moved, "that the Order of the Day for their Lordships to take his Majesty's Message into their consideration be discharged."

The EARL of LAUDERDALE faid, that he did not mean to oppose the Motion of the Noble Marquis, but rather to put what he had to offer into the shape of a request, with which he hoped the Noble Marquis would be induced to comply. He faid, he wished the consideration of the papers to be postponed till Monday, not merely because they had not been ready for delivery to their Lordships in sufficient time for them to make themselves masters of them against the next day, but because he wished to move for other papers of a relative nature, which he conceived would not fail to throw confiderable light on the subject, and which all their Lordships would readily admit to be of the most serious and important nature that ever demanded parliamentary deliberation. His Lordship lamented the absence of a Noble Friend, whose sentiments on the public circumstances of this interesting crisis their Lordships had been deprived of the opportunity of hearing any more than once this Session, and whole opinion it was of infinite importance for the House to be in possession of, and urged that as an argument for delay. The not being able to procure a copy of the papers his Lordship hoped would, with the added confideration that he had stated of

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the absence of the Noble Secretary of State, weigh sufficiently with the House to induce the Noble Marquis to consent to defer the confideration of his Majesty's Message for a few days.-His Lordship said, he had not been less assiduous, he presumed, than any other Noble Lord, in fending for a copy of the printed papers, and although he had fent down to the House at so late an hour as one o'clock, he found it impracticable to procure That circumstance alone, he conceived, was a sufficient ground for their Lordships' deferring the consideration of his Majesty's Message for a few days; but he had another to urge, which he hoped would induce the House to postpone the discusfion of so important a subject till Monday next, viz. his intention to move for some papers highly necessary in his opinion collaterally to elucidate the subject, and without which it appeared to him scarcely possible for their Lordships to view it completely, and ascertain its bearing and full extent. The Earl of Lauderdale faid farther, that the papers he meant to move for (which he should do immediately unless he heard some reason of weight against it) were a copy of the requisition lately made from the Hague, relative to the opening of the Scheldt, and a copy of the last communications made by Lord Auckland to his Majesty's Ministers. His Lordship added a few more words all tending to the same point, and more than once talked of his Noble friend, whom we considered to be Lord Grenville.

The MARQUIS of STAFFORD in reply faid, that in respect to the argument made by the Noble Lord, that although it was true that the printed copies of the papers were delivered from the press at a late hour that day, every Noble Lord was pertectly well acquainted with their contents. That with regard to the papers which the Noble Earl had intimated his intention of moving for, the Noble Secretary of State, who would be present next day, could better say what were proper to be produced, and what ground there was to object to the production of others. He begged the Noble Earl, therefore, to defer his motion for them till the next day, when it might be taken into-conaderation previous to any other bulinels, and therefore, after the Order of the Day was discharged, he should move that his Majesty's Message be taken into consideration to-morrow.

LORD LAUDERDALE faid, that in compliance with the requisition of the Noble Marquis, he would poltpone his Motion for papers till to-morrow.

The Order was then discharged, and his Majesty's Message

ordered to be taken into confideration to-morrow.

The Lords were, upon Motion, ordered to be lummoned for to-morrow

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FEBRUARY 1.

The EARL of LAUDERDALE prefaced his intended Motions for papers tending further to explain the true state of the dispute between Great Britain and France, by saying, that in a matter of such importance, and which threatened to bring along with it consequences so extensive, it was surely the first duty of their Lordships to obtain all possible information.

The first paper that he wished to see was, to shew what, if any requisition had been made by the States General on the subject of the Scheldt, or of any attack which they apprehended from France; for surely before we stood forward in support of our ally, it was fit to shew that our ally felt herself in danger, and had demanded the performance of our engagements.

He observed in the published correspondence between the Noble Secretary and M. Chauvelin, there was a lapse of several months; now he understood that the most important moment of the negociation was in the months of October and November, and therefore his second Motion would be, for any correspondence that might have passed in the interval between July and November.

His third Motion would be for any offers that had been made by the Executive Council of France through our Minister at the Hague, as he understood that such offers had been made, and that if attention had been paid to them, the peace might have been preferred.

And, fourthly, as under the pretext, that all negociations which had passed with other French agents than M. Chauvelin might be considered as not to be included unless especially called for, he would move for such papers distinctly, as he understood that Ministers had officially conversed with other agents. The Noble Lord then moved his four propositions, in the following words:

" 1st. That there be laid before the House the Copies of any Memorial or Representation from the States General to the British Court, on the opening of the Scheldt, with any requisition on the part of the States-General to the British Court in confequence thereof.

" 2dly, Copies of all Communications between His Majesty's Ministers and M. Chauvelin, between August and the end of November.

" 3dly, Copies of any Communications that may have passed between His Britannic Majesty's Minister at the Hague and the Executive Council of France—and, at

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" 4thly, Any Correspondence that may have been held between His Majesty's Ministers and any private agents from the

prefent rulers in France."

LORD GRENVILLE declared that he should think himfelf bound to give to each of these Motions a decided negative. because they could not possibly be useful to the discussion of this day. In regard to the first paper, for a copy of the requisition made by Holland, for our affiftance under the treaty of 1788. he was aware that in giving his direct negative; it would leave Noble Lords the power of reasoning on the supposition that there was no formal requitition made by Holland for our affiftance under the treaty. He had no objection to Noble Lords taking their argument upon that supposition; but if they wished to strain it farther than that, and say that, because there was no formal requisition by Holland, she was unalarmed at the conduct of the French, he must oppose any such implication from his concession. Holland was seriously alarmed. She had made complaints and applications for our aid and friendship. Would the Noble Earl defire that his Majesty's Ministers should expose the particular grounds of their alarm, and the specific applications they had made? To do so would be to expose their weak fide, and to make known to the House the manner in which they might be most affected at the opening of the war. He should therefore certainly object to this motion. In regard to other negociations, there were no papers in the office of any other correspondence whatever on the affairs of France. He had had a convertation with M. Chauvelin on the 28th of November, of which, in the usual diplomatic way, he had made a note verbale; and from the authority of that note made at the time, he could fay explicitly to their Lordships, that he had flated to him the disposition of Government to correspond with him, but in a non-official way. He would also own that another of his Majerty's Ministers had had a conversation with a person whom they understood to be an agent of the Executive Council of France, and the fame declaration was made to him. What passed at this meeting it was unnecessary for him to state. At a fecond convertation between the same persons, the whole was referred to M. Chanvelin. As to laying before their Lordships the information received from the British Minister at the Hague, they would fee the obvious impropriety of granting fuch commonication. It was the very end, use, and object of a Minister at a Foreign Court to collect information from every possible channel, and to transmit it to his country. Would their Lordthips think it wife and prudent, that the information fo transmitted by Lord Auckland should be exposed?—He concluded with faying, therefore, that he should give his direct negative to all the four Motions.

The EARL of LAUDERDALE said, if the Noble Secretary had attended to the words of his motion, he would not have made the objection that he had done. His motion was for such papers as had been transmitted by Lord Auckland of offers made through him by the Executive Council of France, in so far as respected their conduct towards England and her allies, which was in fact no other than the specific subject on which they were called upon to determine that day. To desire Ministers to lay before the House all the information which Lord Auckland might have collected, would have been highly absurd.

The motions were then feverally put and negatived.

The Order of the Day was now ealled for.

Lord GRENVILLE opened, in a speech of considerable length, the great and important measure of the British Government with respect to France. He took the King's Message, brought down on Monday last, (Jan. 28) as his text, and naturally began with a very interesting and pathetic animadversion on the shocking and atrocious act of the French King's murder. He gave to the late unfortunate Louis a high character for the private virtues of his heart, his justice, his clemency, and his truth. And yet this Monarch had been murdered by the very people, who but a few months before had fworn allegiance to his authority; and, to heighten the atrocious nature of the act, had outraged every principle that belongs to the forms even of justice. They had united in themselves the several offices of Accuser, Witness, Jury, Judge, and Legislator. They had violated their own Law, fuch as it was, to accomplish his death; and the only possible reasons that his Lordship said he could find for all this were, that the good and unfortunate Monarch had shewn " but too great a defire to yield to what he believed to have been the wishes of his people, but too great a defire to spare the effusion of human blood." He was fure then that their Lordships would he eager to express to his Majesty the abhorrence which they felt at the act, and the execration in which they held the principles which had led to the commission of it. In this they would participate in the feelings of the whole kingdom, and they would declare to Europe and posterity in the most solemn way the feeling of England on the horrid enormity. This necessarily led the Noble Lord to the second part of the Message, for in declaring their abhorrence of the principles which preceded murder, the House would, he was sure, be ready to declare to his Majesty their readiness to concur in the further increase of his forces by fea and land. The Noble Lord with able arguments enforced the necessity of our immediately opposing the progress of

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those principles by a detailed relation of what the French had done all around them. They had declared war against the house of Austria certainly without provocation, for he could take upon himself to say, at least, he could state upon what he believed to be good authority, that, at the time when they declared war against Austria, there was no plan nor settled intention in the Court of Vienna to make an attack upon France. Ambition had marked and stained her conduct throughout; and, confidering that she was probably-too powerful for the fecurity and repose of Europe even in her own territory, furely England could not fee with indifference the views of aggrandizement which she betrayed throughout, but which, immediately after her conquests in the Belgic Provinces, broke out and were heard in the most lofty and insulting tone. They had not merely threatened our allies, but they had received emiffaries of fedition from England, they had given them encouragement and promifes, and had not concealed their defign of endeavouring, by what they called a revolutionary power, to overturn every fettled government in Europe. The Noble Lord went over the whole of the correspondence with a view to shew that France had in no way made fatisfaction to England for the infulting menaces of this revolutionary spirit. Le Brun, in that paper which he declared to be the ultimatum of the French Government, had in very unmeasured terms said, that unless we chose to accept of the explanations then offered, which were in fact no explanations at all, the French nation must consider themselves as at war with England. These explanations gave no fatisfaction whatever upon the points at iffue. They were ffill to act upon what they called general law, which went directly to the violation of politive treaties. They were to maintain their possession of the Netherlands, not merely till peace, but till an event should take place, of which they were themfelves to be the judges. While therefore they were making profeffions of regard, their conduct in every instance shewed that they included Great Britain in the scope of their revolutionary scheme, and in their language to their own Jacobin focieties, in the addresses even of Ministers, they scrupled not to profess the most direct hostility. Such was the letter of the Marine Minister (Monge) of the 31st of December, addressed to the sea ports of France. "The government of England is arming, and the King of Spain, encouraged by this, is also preparing to attack us. These two tyrannical powers."-Thus do they speak of England, and thus they confound us in the general mass of the tyrannies to be demolished, at the very time when in their negociation they professed an anxious defire to preserve the neutrality on which we had so candidly acted. "These two tyrannical powers hope to frighten us; but no; the people of France will not fuf-

fer laws to be dictated to them by any tyrant. Will the English Republicans fuffer it? No; we will fly to their fuccour. We will make a descent in the island; we will lodge there 50,000 caps of liberty for our republican brothren in England: we will plant there the facred tree of liberty. The tyranny of their government will foon be destroyed." This, faid Lord Grenville, was the infulting language which not merely private individuals, but which the Marine Minister of France had held: after to gross an outrage on England, could our government truft to their professions? It was not their assurances, it was not a declaration that their metaphylical principles were not to be extended to us, that we could trust; our only security was in a determined active refultance to the propagation of fuch principles. They faid, that they had not threatened our allies. Had they not created a Batavian legion, composed of deferters and rebels from Holland, and planted that legion on the very frontier of the Dutch territory? Had they not declared the irrefragable right of breaking afunder all treaties. which contradicted what they were pleased to call general law? Thus establishing for themselves a difcretionary power of diffolving treaties, they took from all nations the only fecurity which they could have for their rights and the maintenance of peace: for all treaties were necessarily exceptions to general law. A treaty is made for the purpose of fuspending, during the continuance of that treaty, the exercise of certain rights, which otherwise, by the general law of nations, would be enjoyed. By this exercise of general law they were to open the Scheldt; and with respect to the maintenance of the Belgic Provinces, they were to continue in possession of them until the people should establish a government for themfelves. Would this country submit to see the Belgic Provinces become an 85th department of France? He declared that he faw no difference in their becoming an 85th department, from their being erected into what they would call an Independent Government, but really subject to their domineering intrigue. The Noble Secretary of State appealed to their Lordships, whether, from every consideration of the subject, they should not manfully determine to hazard all the confequences that might enfue from a direct, open, and avowed relistance of principles, which led to the overthrow, not merely of all external fafety, but also of internal order, peace, morals, and, what was infinitely more important, of religion. He concluded, therefore, with moving,

That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to return His Majesty the thanks of this House for his most gracious Melfage, and for the communication of the papers which, by His Majesty's command, have been presented us; To offer to His Majesty our heartfelt concern on the atrocious act lately perpetrated

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trated at Paris, which must be viewed by every nation in Europe as an outrage on religion, justice, and humanity, and as a firiking and dreadful example of the effect of principles which lead to the violation of the most facred duties, and are utterly subversive of the peace and order of all civil society.

To affure His Majerty, That it is impossible for us not to be fentible of the views of aggrandizement and ambition which, in violation of repeated and foleran professions, have been only manifested on the part of France, and which are connected with the propagation of principles incompatible with the existence of all just and regular government; That, under the present ofcumstances, we consider a vigorous and effectual opposition to these views and principles as effential to the security of every thing which is most dear and valuable to us as a nation, and to the future tranquillity and fafety of all other countries : " The terms of the state of the stat

That, impressed with these sentiments, we shall, with the utmost zeal and alacrity, afford His Majesty the most effectual affiftance, to enable His Majesty to make a further augmentation of his Forces by Sea and Land, and to act as circumstances may require in the present important conjuncture, for maintaining the fecurity and honour of his Crown, for supporting the just rights of the Allies, and for preserving to his people the undifturbed enjoyment of the bleffings which, under the Divine Pro-

vidence, they derive from the British Constitution.

EARL STANHOPE rose, he said, upon the most important occasion that ever he had witnessed, to declare his opinion that this calamity, pregnant with ruin to England, had been brought on by Ministers. It had been provoked by no aggresfion. England had neither been injured nor infulted; but we were drawn into this most imminent of all dangers by a lystem of pride, peeviffiness, and passion, belonging to Ministers, but not to be afcribed to the people of England, and clearly incompatible with found wifdom and true policy. Every man of humanity ought to exert himself, even yet, to strive to avert the evil from his country; and he took upon him to fay, that even yet it might be avoided, if we would shake off the false pretences under which we covered our real defigns, and act with the openness and candour that became a great nation. The Noble Lord. to shew what he charged as a formal misstatement of the Noble Secretary of State, read part of a letter from Citizen Condorcet, (see the end of the Speech) expressing the anxious defire of the French to maintain an amicable understanding, and generous friendship with England. And this friendship might have been maintained, but for the infidious and crooked manner in which his Lordship said, our Ministers had carried on the negociation. They were willing, forfooth, to carry on an unofficial correspondence ;

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dence; and thus they contrived to irritate a galled people, to wound their delicacy, to infult their diffres, and to provoke their pride. As if all this were not fufficient, they completed the infult by the outrageous manner of M. Chauvelin's dismission, Let us judge of them by ourselves, said his Lordship. What would King William have done, if his Ministers had been so treated? We boufted of our neutrality; was there any neutrality in peremptorily demanding that they should quit Brabant, and at the fame time not as peremptorily demanding of the combined Kings that they should not attack France? Neutrality, from its

very effence, was equal,

The Noble Secretary of State had faid, that he faw no difference between annexing Brabant to France, and erecting it into an independent government. Did he mean that we were to fee it reflored to the horror of its ancient bondage under the House of Auftria? He would tell the Noble Secretary, that he had no right to enflave any people. He had heard many things that they brought forward to enflame the passions of the public.-How poor and pitiful were fuch expedients! Let us look back to our own history, and see whether our own government had not been stained by acts as horrid? Did we not, by Act of Parliament, set a price of 100,000l. on the head of the Pretender? and yet, with the memory of this fact, to repress our malignity, we endeavour to heat the public mind by reproaches on the dif-ordered state of France. What will all this avail you? You will not make this a war of the people of Great Britain. It is a war of the Government of England against the funds of England; against her paper currency; against her manufactures, against her best and dearest interests. The real motives of this war are, that you diflike the principles of the French Revolution. If these principles are good, it is not your war that will extinguish them. But how are you to oppose them? What is our army? What our militia-

[LORD COVENTRY called the Noble Earl to order.] EARL STANHOPE faid, I wish the Noble Lord had stated why he called me to order, or that he had stopped till I had concluded my fentence. I asked, and when we are on the point of being plunged into a war, my duty obliged me to alk, what is our army, what our militia, compared with the army and militia of France? They have voted an army of 500,000 We may vote men too; but where shall we find the money ?- Let us look back to our late miferable taxes on foap, cn candles; and let us fairly ask ourselves, whether they do not prove that we are nearly come to the end of our relources! The Earl gave a melancholy picture of the condition of the poor in this country, drawn from the two faithful records, collected,

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as he flated, by an excellent patriot, Mr. William Moreton Pitt. He demanded also, in what way we were to carry on this war? Were we to attack the French iflands? He affored their L hips that the French withed to lose them. But he defired their Lordships to recollect, that on the French possessing their illands depended the continuance and prefervation of our own. Had we calculated on the probable infurrections in those islands which would doubtleft be fomented by the French arming the Negroes. He warned their Lordships against the danger of driving the French to desperation. He concluded with moving an Amendment to the Address, by omitting all the words after the first fentence, and substituting the following se protocol and and

"That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to thank his Majesty for the communications that his Majesty his been pleased to make to this House respecting France, and to affure his Majesty, that this House will take the same, and every thing relative to that important business, into their most serious

and attentive confiderations land, old to animit the

"And in the mean time humbly to request his Majesty, that his Majesty would be pleased to take every proper measure to maintain peace between the two countries, which this House ardently withes thould be preferved. Wayne, ranging and black at

Translation of a Letter from Citizen Condoncer to Earl STAN-HOPE, read by him in the House of Lords, on Friday, February 1, 1793, to repel the Calumnies thrown out against that able Member of the NATIONAL CONVENTION in France, as wiffing to excite Diffurbances in this Country.

"Frenchmen, my Lord, know extremely well that they have no right to interfere with respect to any disputes that may

anse between Englishmen and Englishmen,

" Each nation ought to be fovereign and independent on its own territory; and choose that Constitution and Government which is the best switted for it. I His Lordship earnessly begged the most serious attention of the noble and learned Prelates on the Bishops Bench. Political enthulialts ought not to refemble enthulialts in religion, who claim the exclusive privilege of making converts to their religion, because, say they, it is the only good one.

"Befides, suppose even that zeal for liberty should make some individuals in France forget the respect which is due to the independence of other nations (a respect which the National Asfembly has confecrated by a folemn decree), fuch a conduct with respect to England would be real infanity.

"You are by no means flaves whom it may be defirable should be set at liberty; but free men who only think of the best y 2 means

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meant of ameliorating your laws; and of retaining with certainty the freedom you possess. Our two nations, arrived at that point where peaceable discussion, and the progress of the light of reason; under forms acknowledged by law, ought alone to correct any defects either in our constitutions or in our governments.

"But would it not at prefent he for the interest of both nations, now enlightened, to agree together respecting certain principles, according to which their mutual relationship should be

regulated it.

The first principles should be to agree that it is the possession of a territory which constitutes a nation; and so that any party that have exist in any country, wishout having a territory belonging to themselves, cannot be considered by a foreign nation as a political body, with which a foreign nation has any right to treat.

As a consequence of this principle, each nation should make a law, that none of the free affociations of men which may exist within either country, should be permitted to take an active part with respect to any internal quartels which may happen to mile in any other country;

"It would be proper afterwards to lettle the forms to be obferved for the punishment of crimes that respect both countries, in order to preserve the natural and civil rights of individuals, the independence of nations, and public safety in each of them respectively.

Calumnies against a foreign public functionary form one of those offences.

Much afterwards will full remain to be done, in order to prevent war, either by fea or land; from being injurious to any, except those who take an active part in the war themselves.

to the trabetsquare in a conserved of or them to conserve."

The EARL of DARNLEY declared himlest perfectly convinced of the necessity of the measures taken by Government, in support of which he had hoped their Lordships would have been manimous. He was ready to declare, that he considered the question of that day to be neither more nor less than a question of peace or war.

The EARL of CARLISLE role to draw their Lordships attention more closely to the question under difficultion. After thewing that the Noble Earl, who spoke second, had gone into general argument, rather their persinent reasoning, his Lordship said he approved, in decided terms, of the conduct of Government. He thought the measure of war was founded on the simplest and purelt principles of felf-defence. To say, that Ministers

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nifters had rushed into this war unnecessarily, was to say, that they preferred adventuring forth in a tempest, to failing on a fummer sea. He deplored the atrocious act of the French King's death, and, after describing the crime in most affecting terms, he faid, that thefe ferocious beafts had recently aggravated their guilt by the niggardly cruelties which they had practifed on his mournful family. The Queen had been reduced even to supplicate them for weeds. He ridiculed the new political morality of the French in regard to treaties. They were to interfere with every government, wherever the people should demand their fraternity. Thus they had received emissaries from our clubs, and promifed them succour. Why had they not made an attack upon our allies? Only because we are firing. For they had attacked Nice, Avignon, Geneva, insulted the King of Naples, &c. &c. only because they were weak. France had declared to us, that she would not quit Brabant until the people should have chosen a government for themselves. At the same time they had 100,000 men amidst the Brabanters with bayonets, to force upon them their own (the French) form of government. It was impossible then to trust any of their al-They must first be brought back to reason; and this was only to be done by the measures now proposed; which, agreed with the Noble Lord who spoke last, was a question really of peace or war. He was ready to abide the confequences, and pledged himself to give Ministers his support. faid, that we ought to treat now, as we must treat at last. With whom could we now treat? At the same time he was ready to declare, that if a government were really established in France, it was not for us to enquire of what description, whether monarchical or republican. In this great measure of resisting the progress of French opinions, we certainly were not actuated by envy. If we had been moved by envy, it would have been when this great people were making a bargain with their monarch to limit his power: at a time when they had much more liberty than they could boast at present, we had maintained a persect neutrality-pleafed with our own Constitution, and unenvious of that which they were labouring to obtain.

The EARL of DERBY faid, that he had not intended to utter a word that day on the question, but two Noble Lords had avowed, that it went directly to pledge the House to war. It became, therefore, more serious than he had believed it. The country was sourishing beyond all calculation that could be formed of its opulence; because we had enjoyed peace, while all around us were at war; and because our manufacturers and merchants had, in the spirit of enterprize, taken advantage of the circumstances of Europe, by pushing their industry and speculation

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to an unexampled extent; were we to put the whole of this to the hazard? The Noble Secretary of State had fairly owned that the Dutch had not called upon us. Why were we so eager to volunteer our services? Were we fure even that Holland, our ally, wished for our interference? Were we perfectly sure that we might not expose our ally to calamities more dreadful than those from which we are so eager to protect her? The Noble Earl doubted of the readiness of Ministers to go to sea in a storm. It was not long fince the Noble Earl did not think so favourably

of the fame Ministers.

On the question of the Russian armament, the Noble Earl thought them ready to plunge the nation into a war without provocation or necessity. On that occasion, as well as on the present, Ministers found a ready complying Parliament; but the voice of the people supported the voice of the minority, and forced Ministers to furrender their despetate and impolitic proceeding. The country was referred by alarm at the calamities of a war, and by its own good fense; and if they had time to reflect upon the present armament, they would again give judgment against it. If he were fingle in the House, his Lordship faid, he would oppose his negative to the proposition. He knew that in three months the manufacturers of this country would call upon them with a loud and interesting voice against the evils to which their Lordships were about to expose them. It was now pretended, that the French, having received addresses from England, had furnished a motive for war. This could not be true; for the King's Speech on the meeting of Parliament, though it spoke of the reception of those Addresses, did not speak of them as a cause of war. And had not, from the experiment that had been lately made upon the temper of the nation, the most general and convincing proof been afforded, that the people of this country were united in support of the Constitution !-His Lordship faid, he perfectly agreed in the propriety of the Noble Earl's amendment. It would give their Lordships time for deliberation; and though he did not know of any fuch motion, it had his hearty concurrence. It was of no confequence to him personally, whether his vote should be popular or not. He wanted nothing either from Ministry or Opposition. He had discharged his conscience by endeavouring to avert from the nation the calamities of a war which he thought unprovoked, and which might even yet be prevented by difcretion.

LORD PORCHESTER approved of the war. His Lordship faid, that it was not a war against the liberties of France. It was a war not of choice, but necessity. It was a war for every thing that was dear to us; perhaps for our very existence. It was not therefore a war to be entered into on mercantile consi-

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derations. They were not to balance the probable profit and los. They were flot to enquire even into the means of carrying it on. If we were reduced to our last shilling, we should not tamely lie down and fuffer ourselves to be crushed. It was a war, in the profecution of which, his Lordship said, he would readily hazard his life and fortune, and he hoped every one of their Lordships who saw the inevitable necessity of the war as he did, felt the same fentiment.

The EARL of KINNOUL faid, though he was determined to act with his old friends, in whose integrity he had im-plicit confidence, yet on this occasion he felt himself bound to declare his approbation of the measure of a war with France.

The EARL of LAUDERDALE faid, that he owed to the people of Great Britain a clear statement of the reasons which actuated him in his public conduct. He professed himself to be one of the people; and it was not the low and pitiful invectives that daily issued from the prefs, that should make him shrink from the projecution of those reforms that he thought effential to the public happiness. He deplored the act of atrocity lately perpetrated in France, which was as distant from true policy as from humanity and justice. He spoke of the scene of horror with pathetic agitation; and faid, that the passions of the multitude of France were too fatally brought into the prefent ferment by the fanguinary manifestos by which the march of Brunswick though the country was threatened to be tracked. Paris was to be confumed, and the army of Brunfwick were to exterminate all who dared to oppose the arrogance of despotisin. It was true that the conduct of the French had been horrid; but he augured ill of the intention of the British Ministers, when he faw them joining with their just complaints against France, the most insidious appeal to the passions. Good God! if they have reasons for devoting the country to war, cannot those reasons stand the test of sober discussion? Instead of submitting the grounds of complaint to rational disquisition, a collection of papers is distributed at the doors to your Lordships, pitifully contrived to excite your prejudices against the French nation, and to turn that into matter of anger and refentment, which ought to be the subject of the coolest and most deliberate reflection. They have collected all the abfurdities of all the madmen, all the monstrous propositions of the heated imaginations of individuals, to induce you to believe that this nation of madmen and speculatists are not to be reasoned with, but to be crushed. They rouse you to revenge, instead of calling upon you to deliberate. When I hear of the intemperance of Mr. Burke and Mr. Wyndham; when I heard a noble Lord, during the fort continuance of bis difinitive fled support of Government, calling the French by the most

most opprobrious terms-another calling them ferocious beafts, and when I daily hear the contemptible calumnies and provoking language thrown out against them, can I wonder that they should be exasperated in return, and that the multitude in both countries, thus goaded, should commit acts of the most rancorous hatred? Is this the conduct of statesmen and legislators, where dispassionate reasoning ought alone to predominate? I am ready to own, that the acts of the Convention for the last three months have been monstrous and absurd. But in all their abfurdity and wickedness, they have manifested an uniform de-fire of maintaining peace and friendship with England. He read some passages relative to this subject from a report made by Briffot; and, speaking of Briffot himself, added that he was proud to rank him in the lift of his friends-His virtues and talents merited the acknowledgment. The opening of the Scheldt was stated as one of the reasons for going to war; and it was faid, that the principle on which they profolled to act was abominable. What was this principle? On turning to the works of Mr. Burke, those fruitful works, where may be found every principle on which the French have acted, this principle was also recognized. Speaking of the infamous conduct of the Nabob of Arcott towards the Rajah of Travan-core, in flutting the Cavery, he faid, "The bounties of God and Nature ought not to he negociated away by the treaties of Princes. It is with rivers as it is with the rain of the clouds of heaven; they belong to the lands on which Providence in its bounty showers them down." The Noble Lord went at condiderable length into a discussion of the pretexts and the prospects of the war. He should dread the war, though all Europe were with us.—Where could we find resources? Where could we make our attack? Should we take from them their West-India colonies? He could almost venture to predict that in two months from this date they would have no West-Indian illands to take. They were not anxious to retain them. It was for us to reflect on the probable consequence to our own Mands, if became independent. He was fure, that all the confenances might have been prevented by an open conduct on our If the Empress of Russia had treated Mr. Faulkener as we had treated M. Chauvelin, a war had been inevitable. He deprecated the continuance of this filly and injurious pride; and conjured them still to reflect on the horrors into which they were likely to plunge the country.

LORD STORMONT flated the urgent political reasons for To fecure us from the evils of Brabant falling into the hands of the French, was a most important object; a long line of statesmen had decided on the necessity of our preventing Bra-

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bant from ever becoming an appendage to France. He accused their late political conduct in fevere terms, and, as a proof that we had to apprehend little from the conflict, he gave an extract from Cambon's account of their finance: by which it appeared that their exceedings for one month had been feven millions flerling; that they had spent ninety millions sterling during last year; that their last iffue of affignats was eighty millions sterling; and this was fecured by a tax on the landed property of France. Such was the state of their ability for war. He made no doubt but that there were some wife men among them, who wished to keep off the war with us for a time. We should have gained nothing but the adjournment of the evil; we only have the privilege of Ulysses in Homer, to be the last devoured. He was ready, therefore, to own that he faw no probability of avoiding the war, and he thought himself called upon to declare, and he pledged himself to give Ministers all the support of his perfonal influence to the war and all its consequences; of course he must qualify this declaration, by referving to himself of judging freely of the manner in which it ought to be carried on, but in this also he would give them liberal allowance. He entered upon it with confidence, it was undertaken on principles just and necessary; he thought it practicable in its conduct, and that it would be productive of advantages neither trifling nor doubtful.

The MARQUIS of LANSDOWNE began a speech full of matter and argument, by deploring the failure of the motion which he had the honour to make in the beginning of the fession. In his conscience he believed, that if they had agreed to fend an able and experienced minister to Paris, the execution of the late unhappy monarch might have been prevented. [Here was a murmur of diffent. My Lords, I repeat it. I say, that an able minister, with the efficient means in his hands, which Ministers well knew how to supply, might have obtained the object so precious to humanity. What man of feeling but would have rejoiced in such an use of our means? What man would have refused to minister his cordial thanks for such a service? And less than one half of the expence of a war for one day would have secured the object. He entered fully into the arguments that had been alleged of their defire of aggrandizement, their principles, &cc. He faid the aggrandizement of France had been viewed both in their acquifition of Lorraine and Corfica, without alarm by England.—He declared he was forry to have heard the French described as ferocious beasts, and wished they had been spoken of in softer terms. Their conduct, he faid, entitled them to the favour, the friendship, and the aflection of Great Britain, and not its hostility. He traced the conduct Zz

conduct of France towards this country, from the period of its Revolution, and maintained that it carried no one feature in it, but what was kind and conciliatory to England. He faid, if we were to have a war, it must be considered as a war of policy, and a war of metaphysics. He discussed the policy of the war in a variety of lights, and shewed that it would be a wanton war on our parts, without the least provocation on the part of France. If the metaphysical principles of France were what we were to contest, those principles, he afferted, came from this country originally, and had only recently been adopted, and acted on by the French. They were to be found in Mr. Hume's works, in the works of Dr. Adam Smith, and in a more recent book by Mr. Dongal Stuart. If the principles were libellous, why had not the authors who first stated them been prosecuted for their libels? For his part, he thought them wise and sound principles,

and as fuch, he ever would support, and enforce them.

He spoke with marked reprobation of the manner in which M. Chauvelin had been treated, and in which the negociation had been carried on. It was difgusting to see the little, crooked bastard stateliness we had affected.-Look at the papers of the French; you see them candid, open, and conciliating; they open their arms to receive us. They anticipate objections in order to remove them. They use the kindest expressions, and declare their anxiety to maintain friendship with us. On the other fide what was our conduct? They received M. Chauvelin indeed, but in a way to difgust him personally, and to insult the people of France. There were poured forth on him the most scandalous libels, and that in a way which clearly marked the countenance of Ministers—they would not treat with him but in enigmas-they must use their ifs and distinctions. All this he endured; but this was not all. They laid an embargo on corn, even contrary to their own proclamation, in the miferable idea of starving the people for want of bread. Even foreign corn was not fuffered to be fent to them, by express order, though open for exportation to all other countries. Compare this with the conduct of George the Second. During the raging even of an actual war, hearing that they wanted bread, he fent them corn; but the conduct of our Ministers would have disgraced the conduct of a monopolifing jobber. Last of all, they ordered M. Chauvelin away in a manner so offensive, that it was in itself a declaration of hostilities. The Noble Marquis made a forcible appeal to the House on our own inability for war. The unfunded debt amounted to 10,000,000l. The India bonds amounted to 3,200,000l. and we had been increasing our navy bills bear-• per cent. while we were buying up at three per cents. at 92. Much

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Much had been faid of those who were no more, and every one of their Lordships, who had supported the Address, had been loud in lamentation; but might he not ask, if there was no consideration due to the living? Sure he was, that those of the Royal Family of France that remained were in great danger, whereas our meeting the amicable wishes of France would secure their fafety. He begged their Lordships to call to mind the uncertain and precarious confequences of war. The war in Lord Chatham's adminstration was commenced in despondency, and ended in victory. The last war, like that which Ministers were now about to plunge into, was begun under the influence of popular prejudice in its favour. How unfortunately it ended, their Lordships well knew. The Noble Secretary of State had asked if it were not to be imagined that Holland had never applied to her for protection? Undoubtedly Holland must have been requested to have done so under the alarming circumstances of the French armies being so near her. But the Noble Secretary of State in a handsome and manly way had said, that whether Holland had fought our affiftance or not, we were bound to protect an ally of this country. Undoubtedly we were, but we were not bound to take the burthen on our shoulders, whether Holland defired it or not. It had already got into the newlpapers that we fent to Holland to instruct her to claim our affistance, and that we did the same with Spain. He said he had read in last Monday's Moniteur, that previous to Dumourier's departure from Paris to his army, he had communicated to the National Convention a fecret which he had only before disclosed to the Executive Council, viz. that he was already prepared for the charge of his troops for ten months to come, by money raised upon the mortgage of the lands of the church in Brabant. That, his Lordship said, was a circumstance of no mean consi-The being provided for the support of his army for ten months proved that, if we went to war, it would continue for more than one campaign. The Marquis spoke in high terms of the infinite power of France, instancing the wonderful exertions she had made under Louis the Fourteenth, against so powerful a confederacy as was then formed against her, and stating that although 40,000 French were lost at the battle of Blenheim, the Duke of Marlborough did not think it right to venture to penetrate into the French kingdom. He deprecated the calamities into which ministers were about to plunge us. Peace had lain within our own doors—It yet was within our We had yet the noblest part to play that ever fell to the lot of a nation. We might yet fave the furviving part of the royal family, and secure to ourselves, with the bleffings of peace, the prayers of Europe, and the gratitude of posterity. Zz2

The EARL of CARLISLE rose to take notice of the Noble Marquis having objected to his having used the words ferocious beasts. His Lordship explained in what sense he had applied the phrase, and said, as the Noble Marquis had expressed a wish that the murderers of the French King had been spoken of in softer terms, he would readily adopt a milder expression to gratify his Lordship. For instance, he would call them Lambs, and say that these Lambs had assassing the word of inscriptions, and at last crowned their career of murder by the barbarous death of one of the mildest of monarchs.

The LORD CHANCELLOR (Loughborough) left the woolfack and faid, that after so animated and able a debate, he would, at that late hour of the night, endeavour to comprise what he had to offer to their Lordships in as short a compass as possible. The Lord Chancellor then observed, that from the nature and terms of the address, he conceived there could not have been a fingle objection, and that the House would have come to an unanimous vote upon it; that watching the various arguments that had been urged in the course of the debate, he was happy to find that there was yet a probability of all their Lordships voting for the address, with the fingle exception of the Noble Earl who had moved an amendment. His Lordship then entered into a discussion of the form and terms of the address, which he contended it was, on a variety of grounds, impossible to refist. The first part of it, which referred to the atrocious act lately perpetrated at Paris, he faid, it would have been impossible for that House to have omitted. Not to have noticed it, would, in his mind, have been to have appeared to countenance an act of favageness, at which every man of feeling shud-That event had operated upon the minds of Englishmen fo univerfally, that it had not only changed the habits of every one of their Lordships, but the habits of the people of this country in general, in whose hearts it was too deeply rooted to be easily forgotten or forgiven. His Lordship said, perhaps it was from motives of prudence, more proper to allude to the circumstance, than to name the sufferer, or the parties concerned in so dreadful a facrifice to popular fury. After dilating at some length on that of the address, his Lordship proceeded to consider the other object of it, viz. the affurance to his Majesty that their Lordships would enable him to increase his forces by sea and land. That affurance, he reminded the House, merely enabled his Majesty to arm, and put the country in preparation for war, but did not as a necessary consequence imply that war was refolved on, and that hosfilities were inevitable. Every one of their Lordships, who had that day delivered their sentiments, had

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either directly or indirectly admitted, that to negociate in a flate of preparation was more likely to prove successful than to

negociate unarmed.

He took notice of the different parts of the speeches of the Marquis of Lansdowne, and of Lord Lauderdale, and repelled the idea, that because Holland was likely to rest on us for defence, and thence become a burthen to this country, we ought to abandon her in open violation of our treaty of alliance. reprobated the incurring the fcandalous charge of a breach of national faith, and spoke with indignation of any argument being advanced in a British House of Lords that could be construed as having such a tendency. As Lord Lauderdale had spoken contemptuously of the collection of papers delivered at their Lordships' door, containing extracts from the speeches of feveral of the members of the National Convention, he argued in defence of that publication, urged its propriety, and faid, that as it was not a State Paper it need not be formally laid upon their Lordships' table, but that no one peer could entertain a doubt of its authenticity. He pointed out the impious declaration of Dupont, as a marked feature of the dangerous principles of those who were at present the legislators of France. He discussed at large the mischiefs that must necessarily arise in the countries which the French overrun, from the spirit of discontent, revolt. and rebellion, with which they tainted the minds of all the people with whom they mixed. In reply to Lord Lanfdowne's affertion, that General Dumourier had declared that he was provided with the means of paying and supporting his army for ten months; he asked, what means? On such a declaration it would be natural to imagine that General Dumourier had the money in Bank Bills or Bills of Exchange, but no fuch thing; the General's Bill of Exchange was an army of 100,000 men, with a large Park of Artillery, at the door of the Brabanters, to force them to consent to the mortgage of the Church Lands.— After a most ample and able display of eloquence, in support of the Address, the Lord Chancellor appologized for having taken up more of their Lordships' time than he had intended; and before he fat down animadverted upon Lord Lauderdale's declaration, that he boasted of Briffot as his friend, and the Noble Earl's fneer at his having held fuch and fuch fentiments when he was a Member of a difinterested Opposition. There was, his Lordship said, a gross inaccuracy in the phrase; it was erroneous in chronology, and false in calculation. Having described Briffot as a compiler of debates, which he fashioned to his purpole, he faid he congratulated him of having the honour of the Noble Earl's friendship, but that he would not attempt to say

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whether the principles on which that friendship was founded were wife and judicious. With regard to his own change of fituation, the Lord Chancellor faid, it was not for any public man to fay for himself how far his conduct was right. must be judged by his actions, and they were for the public to decide upon as they thought proper. In point of difinterestedness, however, if the Noble Earl had allowed himself time to examine the fact, he would have found that he was not a gainer by the change alluded to; and in point of chronology, the Noble Earl was totally wrong, because, with respect to what had passed in France, he had from the first moment of the revolution in that country uniformly expressed his detestation and abhorrence of it, having foreseen most clearly that it must necessarily and unavoidably lead to those consequences which had followed, and which were so deeply lamented by every man posfessed of feeling and humanity. His Lordship concluded a most eloquent speech with repeating his abhorrence of what passed in France, and faying, that a principal motive with him for taking the fituation which he had the honour to fill was, that he might in a more formal, direct, open, and of course a more exposed way, manifest his enmity to the friends of Brissot in this country.

The EARL of LAUDERDALE, in reply, charged the Noble Lord with having, in confequence of inattention, puzzled and misrepresented the arguments of the Noble Marquis near him. He stated the passages of Lord Lansdowne's speech to which he alluded, and then repeated his avowal of having Briffot for his friend, stating him to be a man of great genius and ability, and one who acted on the purest and most disinterested motives. He concluded with faying, that there were some men too contemptible to be confidered either as enemies or friends.

The MARQUIS of LANSDOWNE also spoke in reply, and faid, that "because Holland was defenceless, therefore we were to abandon her," was not his affertion, but that we had no right to compel her to call upon us for affishance, contrary to her own inclination. His Lordship further added a panegyric upon the works of Dr. Adam Smith and Mr. Stuart, and faid he was glad to have heard those books, and the principles they contained, recognised from so high an authority as the Noble Lord on the woolfack.

At length the question was put on the Earl of Lauderdale's Amendments which was rejected; the main question was then put, and carried without a division.

The House rose at one o'clock in the morning, and adjourned to February 5.

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Next day (February 2) the following Protests were entered:

DISSENTIENT,

1. Because the immediate tendency of the Address is to plunge the nation into war.

2. Because we consider war as an evil of such magnitude, that nothing but absolute necessity can justify it.

3. Because we have not heard of any danger to this country

which renders war necessary.

4. Because the observance of good faith towards our allies does not require us to engage in war, his Majesty's Ministers having admitted that Holland has not demanded our interference, and it being notorious that Prussia has been the aggressor against France.

5. Because though we feel the utmost horror at the atrocious act of cruelty and injustice mentioned in the Address, we think that no injustice, however flagrant, committed in a foreign state, and having no relation to other countries, is a just ground

for making war.

6. Because we are more likely to obtain the objects, whether of policy or principle, in the way of negociation than war; the aversion of France to break with this country, which has lately stood the test of repeated provocations, putting it in our power at this moment to give peace to all Europe, whereas by entering into the war we shall put all at stake; we shall be to join a league, whose duration cannot be depended on; our marine will be to act against armed vessels only, and that of the French against a trade which covers every quarter of the globe.

7. Because in no view of policy can we discover any advantage to be obtained to this country by war, however successful. The experience of our two last wars has taught us the little value of foreign acquisitions; for having lost America in the last of them, we now enjoy a more beneficial intercourse with it as an Independent State, than we did when it formed a part of the

British dominion.

8. Because we think it the interest of this country to preserve

peace with all mankind, but more especially with France.

9. Because even if it should be thought consonant to the honour and magnanimity of this nation to seek the depression of France, that end will be most effectually promoted by leaving them to their own internal differsions, instead of uniting them by a hostile aggression in a common cause, and thus calling forthall their energy.

10. Because as every war must be concluded by a peace, negociation must at some time take place, and we must ultimately depend upon the good faith of France, unless we proceed upon a

principle of partition, conquest, or extermination.

11. Because the measures now in view will utterly derange our system of finance, our war resources having been applied towards destraying the expence of our peace establishment, in consequence of which our sloating unfunded debt, which amounted, at the commencement of the American war, only to 3,100,000l. has accumulated to above ten millions, exclusive of India Bonds; besides which, the additional effect that the late enormous extension of private banking, to an amount unknown, may have upon our public credit in case of war, is what no one can foresee.

12. Because we dread the increase of those public burthens which already bear so hard on the poorer part of the community, and because we are convinced that nothing can endanger our happy constitution, but an interruption of those bleffings which it now affords us, by the calamities of an unnecessary war.

LANSDOWNE. LAUDERDALE.

DISSENTIENT,

For the 1st, 2d, 3d reasons—and for that part of the 4th, beginning with the word (interference.)

For the whole of the 5th and 12th reasons.

DERBY.

DESSENTIENT,

1st, Because war is a state so unnatural, so barbarous in itself, so calamitous in its effects, so immoral when unnecessary, and so atrocious when unjust, that every friend of humanity should endeavour to avoid it; and the establishment of a pacific system ought to be the first policy of a wise and enlightened nation.

2dly, Because Peace is always for the interest of the common people in all countries; and Great Britain and France, from their peculiar situation, have an evident interest to remain at

peace with each other.

3dly, Because it is a well-known fact that the people in France are, in general, extremely desirous to maintain and strengthen, between that country and this, the bonds of amity and friendship. And ever fince the overthrow of despotism in France, the commonalty in that nation have such irresistible weight that we might rest affured, that as peace with Great Britain is for the interest, and is the wish of the people in France,

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ir h it would therefore be the constant object of their government if not first provoked by our Ministers, by such acts as the sending away the French Ambassador, and expressly refusing to acknowledge their new government.

4thly, Because the old, despotic, and detestable government in France, from its secrecy, its persidy, treachery, and restless ambition, has been the satal cause of many wars in Europe for several centuries past. Therefore, any affistance given on the part of our government, to any power in Europe that is endeavouring to restore that tyrannical form of government in France, is injurious to the true interests of this country. And the people of France have, moreover, as just a right to enjoy civil liberty as ourselves.

sthly, Because a war with France is at present most impolitic, extremely dangerous to our allies the Dutch, hazardous with respect to the internal peace and external power of this country, and is likely to be highly injurious to our commerce, which is the great source of our wealth, naval strength, and prosperity. And any material interruption to the trade, manufactures, and industry of this kingdom, may at this time be attended with consequences the most statk. The war may, therefore, prove to be a war against our commerce and manufactures, against the proprietors of our funds, against our paper currency, and against every description of property in this country.

othly, Because every man of feeling must exceedingly lament the numerous taxes and oppressive burthens already borne by the people of this kingdom, and also the present high price of various necessary articles of life; and if an unwise system of policy be pursued, it must inevitably increase those burthens, and eventually put those necessaries of life beyond the reach of the laborated the second street of the laborated street.

And 7thly, Because these missortunes ought the more to be deprecated, as it clearly appears that it would still be most easy to avoid them if our Ministers were to prefer a mild, just, and pacific system, to the horrors of war, carnage, and devastation.

(Signed) STANHOPE.

FEBRUARY 5.

The Committee of Privileges met to confider on the Scotch Election Petitions. Lord Amherst in the chair.

The Judges, according to order, likewise attending, were called upon to deliver their opinion upon the following question,

"Whether the inftrument in question be a writ sufficient, in "law, to certify, according to the statute of the 6th of Queen Anne, That Francis Vilcount Dumblain, on the 14th day of 3 A "June

are the test sent has a

June, 1790, appeared in open Court, and took and subscribed the Oaths and Declaration therein mentioned?"

The Judges being unanimous, the Lord Chief Baron gave the opinion in a very able, clear, and fatisfactory manner, in the affirmative; That the Writ was good and fufficient.

The Committee was then, upon Metion, adjourned to Februanying a transport of many the contract of the state of the contract of the co

PEBRUARY 7 Anderson of the server No Debate.

FEBRUARY 8.

The Lord Chancellor did not come down to the House till past five o'clock. His Lordship had been detained at St. James's

upon business before his Majesty.

LORD LAUDERDALE rose, and said he meant to move for certain official papers, which he understod were on the table of the House of Commons, but whether it might be proper in so thin a House to move for them, their Lordships best

LORD LOUGHBOROUGH (Lord Chancellor) observed, that as the Noble Secretary of State was not prefent, and as he imagined that Monday next (the 11th) might equally serve his Lordship's purpose, he wished it might be postponed till that

LORD LAUDERDALE faid it was very immaterial to

him, and then retired.

-C. ...

The House adjourned to the 11th.

FEBRUARY 11.

LORD LAUDERDALE moved, "That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to give directions, that there be laid before this House a Copy of the Declaration made by Lord Auckland to the States General of the United Provinces, on the 13th of November, 1792; and also a Copy of the Memorial presented by Lord Auckland to the States General of the United Provinces, on the 25th of January last." The Motion was agreed to, and the papers were prefented next day. The following is a copy of them:

DECLARATION.

" The underligned Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty, has received the King's orders to inform their High Mightineffes the States General of the United Provinces, that His Majesty, seeing the theatre of

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war brought fo near to the frontiers of the Republic by the recent events which have happened, and being fentible of the uncafiness which may naturally result from such a fituation, thinks it due to the connexion which sublists between him and the Republic, that he should renew to their High Mightinesses, on this occasion, the affurances of his inviolable friendship, and of his determination to execute, at all times, with the utmost good faith, all the different stipulations of the Treaty of Alliance fo happily concluded in 1788 between His Majesty and their High

Mightineffes.

" In making to their High Mightinesses this declaration, the King is very far from supposing the probability of any intention on the part of any of the belligerent parties to violate the territory of the Republic, or to interfere in the internal concerns of its government. The King is perfuaded, that the conduct which, in concert with His Majesty, their High Mightinesses have hitherto observed, and the respect to which the fituation of His Majesty and the Republic justly entitles them, are sufficient to remove any ground of fuch apprehension. His Majesty therefore confidently expects, that no events of the war will lead to any circumstance from without which may be injurious to the rights of their High Mightinesses; and he strongly recommende to them to employ, in concert with his Majesty, an unremitted attention and firmnels to reprels any attempts which may be made to disturb the internal tranquillity of the Pro-

"His Majesty has directed this communication to be made to their High Mightinesses, in the full persuasion that nothing can more effectually conduce to the interests and happiness of both countries, than the continuance of that intimate union which has been established between them for the maintenance of their own rights and fecurity, and with a view to contribute to the

general welfare and tranquillity of Europe.

(Signed)

" AUCKLAND."

Hague, Nov. 13, 1792.

Memorial presented by Lord Auckland to the States General of the United Provinces.

High and Mighty Lords,

The underlighed Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty, in consequence of express orders which he received from the King, has the honour to lay before your High Mightinesses copies of all the papers which had been exchanged from the 27th of December last to 3 A 2

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the 20th of this month, between Lord Grenville, Secretary of State of his Britannic Majesty, and M. Chauvelin.

High and Mighty Lords, the King is fully persuaded that the fentiments and the principles expressed in the name of Great Britain, are perfectly the same with those which animate your Republic, and that your High Mightinesses are disposed to concur fully in the measures which the present important crisis calls for, and which are the necessary consequences of those sentiments, and of those principles. A still how not all a boliverges vine

The circumstances which brought us to that crisis are too recent, and the conduct of the King too well known, to oblige the underfigned to enter into superfluous details.

Not four years ago, fome wretches [malheureux] invelting themselves with the title of Philosophers, had the presumption to think themselves capable of establishing a new system of Civil Seciety. In order to realize that dream of their vanity, they found it necessary to overthrow and destroy all received notions of Aubordination, of manners, and of religion, which has hitherto founded all the fecurity, the happiness, and the consolation of the human race—Their destructive projects have but too well succeeded—But the effects of the new system which they endeavoured to introduce, served only to shew the imbecility and villany of its authors. The events which so rapidly followed each other fince that epoch furpals in atrocities all which had ever polluted the pages of history. Property, liberty, fecurity, even life itself, have been deemed playthings in the hands of infamous men, who are the flaves of the most licentious passions of rapine, enmity, and ambition.

The annals of mankind present no epoch when, and in so short a time, to many crimes were committed, to many mistortunes caused, and so many tears shed; even at this moment these horrors feem to be at their fummit.

During all that time, the King, surrounded by his people, who, by Divine Providence, enjoy a prosperity without example, could look on the misfortunes of others but with a fentiment of indignation and pity: but faithful to his principles, his Majesty never wished to interfere with the interior affairs of foreign nations; he never deviated from the road of neutrality which he had prescribed to himself. This conduct, which the King with pleafure faw observed likewise by your High Mightinesses, and the good faith of which all Europe acknowledged, together with his peaceable disposition, which ought to have been respected on every ground, was not sufficient to secure his Majesty, his loyal subjects, and this Republic, from the most dangerous and the most criminal plots,

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For several months past, ambitious projects of aggrandizement. alarming to the tranquillity and fafety of all Europe, were planned in the most public manner; endeavours were made to spread in the interior parts of England, and of this country, maxims detrimental to all focial order; they were not even ashamed to

call these horrible attempts " Revolutionary Power.

Ancient and folemn treaties, guaranteed by the King, were infringed; and the rights and the territory of the Republic have been violated. His Majesty, therefore, in his wisdom, thought proper to make fuch warlike preparations as feemed to him proportioned to the circumstances of the times. The King has confulted his Parliament, and the measures which his Majesty thought fit to adopt were approved by a lively and an unanimous confent of a people who abhor anarchy and irreligion, and

love their King and Constitution.

Such are, High and Mighty Lords, the motives of a conduct, the wisdom and equity of which have till now insured to the King your concurrence and co-operation. His Majesty has in every respect constantly kept a watchful eye on the support of the rights and fafety of the United Provinces. The declaration which the underligned had the honour to make and lay before your High Mightinesses on the 13th of November last, and the arrival of a small squadron destined for the protection of the shores of the Republic during the time when its own naval forces were affembling, prove it incontestably.—Your High Mightinesses have acknowledged these dispositions of his Majesty in what he has done already. You will not find them abated in the preparations that are now making. In confequence of which, his Majesty is persuaded that he will continue to experience on the part of your High Mightinesses a perfect conformity of principles and conduct; that conformity can alone give to the united efforts of the two countries the necessary energy for their common defence, which will also oppose a barrier to the evils with which Europe is threatened, and secure from every attempt the fafety, the tranquillity, and the independence of a State, the happiness of which is insured by your High Mightinesses, through the wisdom and energy of its government.

Done at the Hague, Jan. 25, 1793.

(Signed)

AUCKLAND.

LORD GRENVILLE brought the following Message from the King.

GEORGE R.

" His Majesty thinks proper to acquaint the House of Lords, that the Assembly, now exercising the powers of government in France.

France, have, without previous notice, directed acts of hostility to be committed against the persons and property of his Majesty's fubjects, in breach of the law of nations, and of the most posifive stipulations of treaty; and have since, on the most groundless pretences, actually declared war against his Majesty and the United Provinces. Under the circumstances of this wanton and improvoked aggression, his Majesty has taken the necessary steps to maintain the honour of his Crown, and to vindicate the rights of his people; and his Majesty relies with confidence on the firm and effectual support of the House of Lords, and on the zealous exertions of a brave and loyal people, in profecuting a just and necessary war, and in endeavouring, under the bleffing of Providence, to oppose an effectual barrier to the further progress of a lystem which strikes at the security and peace of all independent nations, and is purfued in open defiance of every principle of moderation, good faith, humanity, and justice.

In a cause of such general concern, his Majesty has every reafon to hope for the cordial co-operation of those powers who are united with his Majesty by the ties of alliance, or who feel an interest in preventing the extension of anarchy and confusion, and in contributing to the fecurity and tranquillity of Europe.

" G. R."

The Meffage being read, LORD GRENVILLE said, that in order that this subject, which was of great importance to this country, might be folemnly and deliberately confidered by that House, he should propose that all their Lordships should be summoned; and in order that no delay should take place, he should propose that to-morrow be appointed for that purpose: moved, That his Majesty's Message be taken into consideration to-morrow, and that all the Lords be fummoned. Adjourned.

FEBRUARY 12.

LORD GRENVILLE moved the Order of the Day for

taking into confideration his Majesty's Message.

The EARL of LAUDERDALE begged their Lordships would not proceed to the Order of the Day, until they should have afforded him an opportunity of moving for fome papers which appeared to him to be absolutely necessary for enabling the House to determine what answer ought to be given to his Majesty's Message. In that important communication it was stated, that the Declaration of War against this country was, on the part of France, an unjust and unprovoke ression, and Supported only by frivolous or groundless pretences. That their Lordships should be able to concur with the King in this aftertion

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tion, it was fit that they should be in possession of some papers relating to certain transactions to which the National Convention had referred as one of the grounds of the war. What he here alluded to were the orders for preventing the exportation of corn to France at a time when it was allowed to every other country, not except in the which were actually at war with France. So marks a measure as this could not well be viewed by the French in any other light than that of hostility; and if they were right in point of fact, it would be impossible for any impartial man to lay his hand upon his heart, and say, that their complaints on this head were frivolous

and groundlefs.

In order to clear up the question of fact, it was his intention to move for Copies of the Orders given by his Majesty's Ministers for stopping the Exportation of Corn to France. There was another point also which ought to be cleared up before the House proceeded to take the Message into consideration. The National Convention afferted, that England had a treaty with the Emperor in the month of January. If this were true, it was unquestionably an act of aggression against France, and would put it out of the power of any Noble Lord to concur in an Address to the Crown, declaring that France had commenced the war on groundless pretences. Before he should make any Motion on these subjects, he wished to learn whether the Nobse Secretary of State would, of his own accord, agree to produce the papers, which could alone enable their Lordships fairly to meet the important discussion to which the Order of the Day would lead.

Lord GRENVILLE said, it was by no means his intention to produce any more papers than those which were already before the House, because he did not think that any more were necessary to ground and warrant the Address which he should have the honour to move in return for his Majesty's Message. But it was his intention to admit the sack, that Government had interfered to prevent the Exportation of Corn to France; and in the course of his speech he would endeavour to shew that the measure was wise and praise-worthy. If he should not adduce sufficient reasons for shewing the propriety of the Address which he intended to move, the Noble Lord might propose to negative or postpone it, and then make a Motion for the production of more

papers.

The EARL of LAUDERDALE faid, he had not heard any thing from the Noble Secretary which could induce him to think that the papers to which he had alluded were not abfolutely necessary to the discussion of the King's Message, and

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therefore he was refolved to make a Motion for the production

of them. His Lordship accordingly moved,

That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to give directions, that there be laid before this House, "A Copy of any Treaty or Agreement be"tween His Majesty, the Enderor of Germany, or the King of Prussia, or either of these powers, and entered into in January "last." The same was by leave of the House withdrawn.

The question was immediately put on the Motion, which was

negatived without further debate.

The EARL of LAUDERDALE observed, that the little fuccess which this Motion had met with, was not of a nature to encourage him to make another for the production of the Treaty with the Emperor; indeed there was a difficulty in that particular ease which it was not in his power to remove; and that was, that he did not know to a certainty whether any such Treaty was really in existence: the Noble Secretary, he hoped, would either admit or deny the existence; but if he would not do either, he could not presume to move for the production of a treaty of the existence of which he was uncertain.

LORD GRENVILLE was filent, and therefore Lord Lauderdale gave up the point, and did not make any Motion about

the Treaty with Austria.

The preliminary business having been thus disposed of, the

Order of the Day was read, and

LORD GRENVILLE rose to move the Address. His Lordship, who was on his legs near three hours, delivered a speech less remarkable for its length, than solidity of argument and weight of reasoning, which appeared to be too powerful to be refisted or fairly answered. He began by observing, that when he last addressed the House on the subject of the misunderstanding between this country and France, the Motion which he made on that occasion was honoured, not indeed with the unanimous support of their Lordships, but with a concurrence so very nearly approaching to unanimity, that it could not possibly be the refult of any thing but a thorough conviction of the neceffity of further armaments and of actual war. The conduct of their Lordships on that occasion, he must consider as an auspicious omen of the support which he might expect that night; for he was fully perfuaded, that every Noble Lord who voted for the last Address to his Majesty, was thoroughly convinced in his own mind at that time, that war was at that moment certain, unavoidable, and at no distant period. The event had fufficiently proved that the conviction was but too well founded.

Their Lordships would recollect the state in which the negociation with Mons. Chauvelin was when it broke off. He had delivered

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delivered a paper, purporting to contain explanations calculated to remove the jealousies of this country and avert a war; but it concluded with a declaration, that in case these explanations should not prove satisfactory, and satisfactory, his Lordship said, it was impossible they should prove, France would then prepare This was a menace which fufficiently shewed that peace was not the object of France; for the must have known that England would never bend to threats, and that therefore to hold them out was the most effectual way, not to conciliate but to provoke a war. His Majesty, in the whole course of the negociation, had demonstrated, that the continuance of peace was the object nearest his heart; and that nothing but dire necessity hould make him refort to war. It was this pacific disposition, which had induced the King to authorife his Ministers to treat with Monf. Chauvelin even in an unofficial way, that no means of preferving peace might be loft. In obedience to his Majesty's commands a negociation was opened, in which his Ministers defired to wave for a time the question of recognizing the new French Government, or its Minister; they wanted not to make this a preliminary to negociation, but a measure to which a friendly intercourse might ultimately be had, if France should manifest in the course of unofficial communications a pacific disposition, and a defire to quiet the alarms, and the rest of Europe. Had France been really disposed to peace, she would have adopted this mode of treating, or at least she would have declared, that it would not become her dignity to treat in fuch a manner; but instead of concurring with his Majesty, in the measure which he had recommended for the fake of peace, or of stating any objection on the score of dignity, she pressed forward the question of recognition, and defired that her Minister might be immediately received as Ambassador from the Republic. Such a proceeding could not have been dictated by the spirit of peace, and might well be confidered as a preliminary to war; the object of it could be mistaken only by a shallow statesman; there was little doubt but that it was to found the disposition of England towards her allies; to try whteher she was firmly determined to support them, and whether the people of this country were ready to stand by his Majesty in a war against France. If such was her object; it was evident the had been out in her calculations; for the had discovered that the people of England were not to be separated from their King, and that they were at all times ready to arm, when fummoned by the facred obligation of treaties, the honour and character of their country.

When his Majesty's Ministers refused to make the recognition of the French Republic a preliminary to negociation, the Executive Council of France adopted a measure which of itself

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might be confidered as a complete rupture of all negociation, and tantamount to a declaration of war; for an order was immediately iffued, contrary to the law of nations, and to the faith of treaties, for stopping all the British ships in the ports of France. Here his Majesty might have considered his dignity so far attacked as to justify a determination on his part not to listen to any offer of negociation short of an apology and reparation for so outrageous an act; but his love for peace still prevailed, and would not fuffer him to renounce any chance for the continuance of it. To this end it was that Lord Auckland, the English Ambassador at the Hague, having dispatched advice home that General Dumourier, Commander in Chief of the French Armies in the Netherlands, had fent to him to propose a personal conference with him (Lord Auckland) at a certain time and place, for the purpole of refuming the negociation, and trying to avert the calamity of a war, his Majesty resolved to give his Ambassador leave to attend the conference.

From this step on the part of France, and the King's readiness to co-operate in the happy work of restoring peace to Europe, it might well have been expected that the period of a general pacification was at no great distance; but how would their Lordships be aftonified, when they should hear, that on the very day fixed for the conference between Lord Auckland and General Dumourier, and to which his Majesty had readily affented, the National Convention actually declared war against England and Holland? This step was a clear manifestation of the hostile disposition of France, and of her determination at all events to break with us, and to attack the Dutch. This step could not possibly leave a doubt in any man's mind which of the two, England or France, was the aggressor. Were he to rest the Motion which he intended to make on what he had already advanced, he was convinced that their Lordships would agree with him in declaring to the King and to the world, that the war was unprovoked on our part, that it was on groundless pretences that France was entering into it; and that those pretences were urged for the purpole of concealing from Europe, as far as she was able, the system of aggrandifement which she was endeavouring to pursue and establish. But in a case of such magnitude as the present, he was willing to meet every thing that had been advanced by the National Convention as the grounds of the war; and he trufted he should make it appear that they were in some instances falle, in others either frivolous or abfurd. That he might speak with greater accuracy, he faid he would read those different grounds from the account published by the Convention.

He began by observing, that this account consisted of three parts—1st, the Report made by Mr. Brissot—2d, the Speech

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made by another member, and which the Convention ordered to be printed .- 3d, the decree containing the enumeration of the acts by which England was faid to have provoked the war, and the declaration of hostilities. He said he had too much respect for their Lordships to read the infamous libel which Briffot's speech contained upon the King of Great Britain, a Sovereign who was fo beloved by his people, who was fo justly dear to them, and who invariably confidered his own happinels as inseparable from that of his subjects. To read a libel on fuch a Prince could answer no other end than that of exciting the general indignation of the House, and roufing the paffions when he wished to address himself solely to the understanding of their Lordships. The enumeration of the grounds on which the decree for the declaration of war was founded, contained fome which, in point of date, were long anterior to the negociation with M. Chauvelin, and of which that Minister had never once complained. This he would make appear in the course of his observations upon the decree, which began as follows:

"The National Convention, after having heard the report of their Committee of General Defence, on the conduct of the

English Government towards France:

"Confidering that the King of England has perfifted, especially since the Revolution of the 10th of August, 1792, to give proofs of his being evil-disposed towards the French nation, and of his attachment to the coalition of crowned heads"

It was very remarkable, his Lordship said, that this was the first time that it was stated by France, that England had in the smallest degree departed, before the date of the present armaments, from the strict line of neutrality which the King had resolved to pursue with respect to the affairs of France; with what a bad grace the Convention brought such a charge, would appear from this striking circumstance, that the very first paper which M. Chauvelin delivered to his Majesty's Minister on his arrival in this country, contained the grateful acknowledgments of the French Government for the strict neutrality which the King had observed in the war between France and the other powers then at war with her. If any departure had taken place from that neutrality, why had not she complained of it?—But no com-

That at the period aforesaid, he ordered his Ambassador at Paris to withdraw, because he would not acknowledge the Provisional

plaint was made, and therefore it might be fairly concluded, that

the had none to make. Her making it at prelent letved only to

expose her to the reproach of having advanced what could

not be supported, because it was not true. The next charge

visional Executive Council, created by the Legislative Asfembly."

In answer to this, Lord Grenville said, he must touch upon points which could not but revive the remembrance of transactions which it would be for the honour of humanity to bury, if possible, in eternal oblivion. Their Lordships would recollect, that on the 10th of August a scene of massacre had taken place, which had filled the mind of almost every man in Europe with horror; this maffacre had been regularly planned, and executed with circumstances the most shocking, the very contemplation of which must appal every breast from which all sense of humanity was not banished. It was true that this massacre was followed by another on the 2d of September, which left the horrors of the former fo far behind, that when compared with each other, one appeared completely lost in the enormity of the other. But before the 2d of September, the Revolution of the 10th of August must be and was considered as one of the most horrid transactions that had ever diffraced the annals of mankind. The murders and butchery of that day threw into the minds of the perpetrators the power of France. They boasted, in the face of the world, of the share which they had had in the dreadful tragedy, and stated it as the ground of their claim to public favour. Was it with fuch men that his Majesty's Ambassador was to treat? Would it have become the character of Great Britain to give her fanction to a measure which could not fail to excite the general indignation and execration of all Europe? Would it have become her to make her Minister treat one day with the King of France, and the very next day with those who had dethroned him, and by means of acts which must fill the mind of every man with horror? On fuch an occasion, he was ordered to do what was best suited to the dignified and humane character of England, he was ordered to quit France and return home. His Lordship did not mean to say, that because a country had changed its government, other nations had a right to interfere in its private concerns; but this he meant to maintain, that every furrounding nation had a right to expect the establishment of such a government as would give fecurity to the people at home, and tranquillity to neighbouring states; and that until such a government was established, they were not bound to enter upon the question of recognition, but had a right fo wait to see the effects of any institution which might be set up for the moment by those who for the time possessed the power of the country. Our Ambaffador, he faid, could not have been suffered to remain in Paris after the event of the 10th of August, without recognizing the new government, a measure which would on many accounts have been highly indecent, and which on one ground

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ground would have been extremely impolitic, as it must occasion a hasty and premature decision on the question of recognition. It would, he was fure, be conceded to him that as a faction might for a time procure power, so a foreign nation was not bound to recognize the government fet up by fuch faction, until it should appear to have had the fanction of the people at large. This principle, applied to the fituation of France at and before the 10th of August, would decide the question, and shew that our Ambaffador ought not to have been authorized immediately to recognize the new government. It was well known that the Constituent Assembly had with the almost unanimous concurrence of the nation established a limited Monarchy in France. A republican party was known to exist in the kingdom; but it was comparatively small, and served only to shew by their feeble opposition at the outlet, that the great bulk of the nation was for a limited monarchy. This party, however, gaining ground in the fecond Affembly, began to entertain hopes of overturning the Monarchy, and establishing a Republic on its ruins. For this purpose, the persons who composed it began to form plans for destroying the king; but no sooner had their designs got wind, than addresses were sent up from all the departments declaring their determination to maintain the constitution with a limited monarch at his head, and oppole, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, the establishment of a Republic. The Legillative Affembly, following the impulse of the general sense of their constituents, devoted to execuation every person who should attempt to alter the Constitution or pull down Kingly Government. The Republican party however prevailed in less than three weeks after this; the horrid schemes of revolution which were carried into execution on the 10th of August, were planned by the party, and the Legislative Assembly, being surrounded by a military force, and under the daggers of murderers and confpirators, forced to rescind its own decree, to abolish the Constitution which each of its members, and the whole nation had fworn to maintain, and by suspending the King, to establish a Republic on the ruins of Monarchy. Had his Majesty's Ambaffador been ordered to acknowledge the new order of things at that moment, into what an awkward fituation might he not have been thrown? Had the departments done what from the unanimous addresses might have been expected, had they marched their troops to Paris to release their captive king, to chastise an impudent faction, and restore a Constitution which only three weeks before appeared to be an object of veneration to the whole kingdom, in what a pitiful light must our Ambassador have appeared, one day recognizing the King, the next recognizing the conspiration who had dethroned him; and immediately after going

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roing with the departments to falute him again upon the throne. The only way to avoid so scandalous a scene, was to recall the Ambassador, by doing which his Majesty's Ministers prudently gave themselves time to consider what was the lense of the people of France, and what would be the government of their adop-The recall of Lord Gower was therefore a measure of prudence and wisdom on our part, and by no means a symptom of a disposition in England to point out what government it was her wish to see established in that country. And therefore, he was warranted in faying, that this was not a rational ground for a declaration of war on the part of France. The next charge brought against England by the National Convention, was "That the Cabinet of St. James's had ceased, since the same period, to correspond with the French Ambassador at London, on pretext of the suspension of the heretofore King of the French. That fince the opening of the National Convention, it has refuled to assume the usual correspondence between the two States, and to acknowledge the powers of this Convention; That it has refused to acknowledge the Ambassador of the French Republic, although provided with letters of credit in his name." The answer to the former charge would, in a great measure, serve also for this. England had a right to fee what kind or degree of stability the new government was likely to acquire, before the could deem it proper or fafe to recognize it. But it was not true that all correspondence had ceased between the two countries, for his Majesty, to shew his sincere disposition to peace, had directed his Ministers to treat in an unofficial way with M. Chauvelin, by which mode of proceeding the question of recognition would not be prejudiced, and yet all the good effects that could arise from the most regular correspondence would be produced.

The next charge brought him to that subject, which had already been mentioned by the Noble Earl who made a motion for papers, which he had not deemed it necessary to call for, The charge was as follows: " That it has endeavoured to impede the different purchases of corn, arms, and other commodities ordered in England, either by French citizens or the agents of the Republic; That it has caused to be stopped several boats and ships loaded with grain for France, contrary to the treaty of 1786, while exportation to other foreign countries was free." This charge, he admitted, was founded in truth; but it contained no fair or rational ground for war. In the first place, the Crown was allowed to possess the prerogative, time out of mind, of prohibiting the exportation of arms and military flores; this prerogative was strengthened by an Act of Parliament, which the King felt it his duty to enforce under the existing circumstances of affairs. It had been doubted whether naval stores

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came within the powers of the prerogative, or of the Act of Parliament to which he alluded; but to remove the doubt, the Legislature had thought proper, during the present Session, to pass an act, empowering the king to prohibit the exportation of naval as well as military stores. The charge, therefore, as far as this went, did not affect the Executive Government, but Parliament itself, whose conduct it was not necessary for him to justify to itself. With respect to the stopping of corn, he allowed it to have been an act of the Executive Government, and in every point of view strictly justifiable! In the first place, England had a right to judge what quantity of corn could be spared from her own confumption; in the exercise of that right she had prohibited generally the exportation of English corn; and this she might do without rendering an account to any one. He admitted, however, that the prohibition had another object, and extended also to Foreign grain intended for France. From the conduct of that country, it was evident, for some time past, that the was meditating a rupture with us, and was making preparations for that event. With a full conviction that fuch was her design, it would have been madness in his Majesty's Ministers to allow her to lay in stores of corn for supplying her fleets and armies, which they knew very well were foon to be employed against Great Britain. It was on this view of the case that he had for one advised the measure of prohibiting the exportation of English corn, or of Foreign corn in English bottoms, to France; he avowed the measure, and was perfectly satisfied that all Europe would find its vindication in the law of nations. Before he dismissed this part of the subject, he begged leave to observe, that the prohibition, as far as it related to Foreign corn, did not prevent the exportation of it to France in Foreign bottoms, for that was allowed, and though a Foreign veffel carrying foreign grain from England to France had been stopped, it was only through mistake, and was afterwards suffered to proceed on her voyage. The exact state of the prohibition was, that English corn was not allowed to be exported to France in any bottoms; nor Foreign corn in English bottoms.

The next charge, his Lordship remarked, was of a truly ridiculous nature, and might well excite a laugh on the part of their Lordships, if it were fit to laugh at all whilst they were engaged in fo ferious and fo folemn a discussion as the present. It was this:-" That in order still more effectually to obstruct the commercial operations of the Republic in England, it obtained an Act of Parliament prohibiting the circulation of affignats. This was no doubt a dreadful crime on the part of England, who ought to be punished with the calamity of a war, for having endeavoured to prevent her own truly valuable paper currency from being polluted by coming in contact with the bankrupt paper of France; and the latter had unquestionably good grounds for complaining that after she had forced her assignats, on the point of the bayonet, down the throats of her own people, she should meet with resistance when she was endeavouring by force of arms to cram them down elsewhere, and compel a currency to which they were not intrinsically entitled.—This measure of stopping the circulation of affigurats was to be ascribed not to the Executive Government of this country, but to Parliament, who had in the present Session passed an Act for

this purpole.

The next charge was-" That in violation of the Fourth Article of the Treaty in 1786, it obtained another Act, in the month of January last, which subjects all French Citizens refiding in, or coming into England, to forms the most inquisitorial, vexatious, and dangerous." On this he would observe. that it ill became France to complain of regulations adopted here for our own fafety, and state them as infractions of that treaty, which, if fuch regulations could be fairly deemed infractions, had been broken every day in France for the last four years; and he could appeal to a Noble Earl (Lauderdale) whether it was not true, that the English in France were obliged to procure passports, and to exhibit them, not as the French in England were bound to do, to magistrates, but to every officer and foldier of the regular army, of the National Guards, or of the National Gendermaire, who should think proper to demand them? He could appeal also to the same Noble Lord, whether the English were not liable to visits from persons sent to look for arms, and whether they were not obliged to give an account of their business, and of the places to which they were travelling? These, he said, were matters of notoriety, and complaints had been made to him by English travellers, who had applied for his interference for redress. But he reflected, that the French might have thought fuch regulations necessary for the security of their new government, and therefore he did not think it proper to interpole or complain of them as infractions on the Commercial Treaty. That the regulations adopted in England might be dangerous, he was ready to allow, but then it could be only to fuch Frenchmen as had come into this country for the purpose of exciting discontents and sedition; to all persons of a different description they were perfectly harmless.

The next charge was—"That at the same time, and contrary to the First Article of the Peace of 1783, it granted protection, and pecuniary aid, not only to the Emigrants, but even to the Chiefs of the Rebels, who have already fought against France; that it has maintained with them a daily correspondence,

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evidently directed against the French Revolution; that it has also received the chiefs of the rebels of the French West India Colonies." He wished that this charge had not been worded in fuch general terms, but that it had specified any particular act of which France had truly reason to complain. As it stood at prefent, the only part of it that was really intelligible was that which related to the humanity with which a number of unfortunate men, flying from the daggers of murderers, had found an asylum in England, and in the humanity of Englishmen some relief from their diffresses. So far was he from denying this fact, or admitting it to be a good ground of charge, that he confidered it as the highest glory to his countrymen, that it had felt for the wants of the distressed, and expressed their sympathy by noble and generous benefactions.—He could not dismiss this charge, without observing that it was with a bad grace indeed that France complained of our receiving their Emigrants; for it was not to be forgotten that they had received Dutch Emigrants, formed them into a corps, called them the "Batavian Legion," and posted them on the frontiers of Holland, with a view to encourage a revolution party in that country. From this it would appear as if France enjoyed an exclusive privilege of doing without guilt, what, if done by another nation, would draw upon it

French vengeance and French arms.

The next charge was-" That in the fame spirit, without any provocation on the part of France, and when all the powers are at peace with England, the Cabinet of St. James's has ordered a confiderable naval armament, and an augmentation of the land forces: that this armament was ordered at a moment when the English Minister was bitterly persecuting those who supported the principles of the French Revolution in England; and was employing all possible means, both in Parliament and out of it, to cover the French Republic with ignominy, and to draw upon it the execration of the English nation, and of all Europe; that the object of this armament intended against France, was not even difguised in the English Parliament."-The answer was, that the armament had not taken place in England until France had put to sea a considerable squadron, which appeared in the Mediterranean; till she had occupied with her armies the Austrian Netherlands; till she had violated the rights of his Majesty's Allies, and absolutely refused to give any fatisfactory explanation of her conduct. It was a very curious charge indeed, "that the armament was ordered at a moment when the English Minister was bitterly persecuting those who supported the principles of the French Revolution." Now it had so happened that none were profecuted, for perfecuted was out of the question, but those who were endeavouring to excite 3 C

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fedition; if therefore this charge were true, it must follow that the principles of the French Revolution are to excite fedition. The English Minister was certainly not entitled to the honour of drawing upon the French Republic the execration of the English Nation, and of all Europe; that task was performed by the Republic itself, or the Convention, by its unexampled acts of cruelty, oppression, or injustice; by the mockery of the trial of the King, and the infult offered to juttice, when the Assembly was imputing to that unfortunate Prince the massacre of the 10th of August, whilst its members were daily boasting that the glory of that bloody scene belonged exclusively to them-It was true that the object of the armament was not difguifed in England; on the contrary, it was avowed to be for fulfilling our engagements with our allies, and raifing a barrier

against the aggrandisement of France.

The next charge was-" That alrhough the Provisional Executive Council of France has employed every measure for preferving peace and fraternity with the English nation, and has replied to calumnies and violation of treaties, only by remonstrances founded on the principles of justice, and expressed with the dignity of freemen, the English Minister has persevered in his fystem of malevolence and hostility, continued the armaments, and fent a squadron to the Scheldt, to disturb the operations of the French in Belgium."-The answer was, that the King's Ministers had continued and extended the armaments, not from any wish for war, but for the purpose of guarding against the ambitious views of France, which the obstinately refused to aban-No doubt it would be thought by all Europe, that it was a heinous crime in England to have fent a fquadron to the Scheldt, for the officious purpose of disturbing the operations of the French in the Netherlands, who ought not to have been interrupted in their career of aggrandisement. Every one must be convinced that the conquest of those provinces was their object; but that they never could expect to retain them, whilft Holland continued to be a distinct and independent state; the conquest of Holland was therefore part of and necessary to their plan; it was of course extremely unkind in Commodore Murray with his fquadron to defeat it.

The next charge brought to the recollection of the House an event which every man must equally lament and execrate-The charge was,-" That on the news of the execution of Louis, he carried his outrages to the French Republic to such a length, as to order the Ambassador of France to quit the British territory within eight days; that the King of England has manifested his attachment to the cause of that traitor, and his efign of supporting it by different hostile resolutions adopted in

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his Council, both by nominating generals of his land army, and by applying to Parliament for a confiderable addition to land and fea forces, and putting ships of war in commission."-It was his wish not to have touched upon the dreadful murder of the King, because he meant not to interest the feelings of their Lordships, but to address himself solely to their understandings; but it being thus brought forward, he must say something upon it. It was an act which had confummated the guilt of the Convention, and left all its other acts of cruelty in the back ground; Europe had heard of it with horror; and at such a moment to have received M. Chauvelin as a Minister from a body so branded with infamy, and which at the same time, instead of giving satisfactory explanations on points in which England had a right to demand it, absolutely presumed to hold out menaces, would have been an instance of pusillanimity which no situation of affairs could justify or even excuse. M. Chauvelin applying at that time to be recognised as a Minister from the Republic, reminded him of what, he learned from history, had passed after the dreadful maffacre of St. Bartholomew: the French Ambaffador in England was admitted to an audience of Queen Elizabeth; passing through the apartments leading to the presence chamber, he found them all hung with black, the Courtiers and the Queen were in deep mourning, and in the coldness and gloom of the reception, he faw how much the dreadful maffacre was execrated. Had M. Chauvelin been admitted as Minister to an audience of our King after the murder of his own, he must have found the Sovereign and his Court in mourning; but this would not have been all; he must have passed through the streets of a city, where almost every one wore the garb of forrow, and execrated the shocking deed which had given them occasion to put it on; no one could tell to what excess their indignation might prompt them on seeing the Minister of the murderers of their King; his person might not have been safe, and in it the sacred laws of nations might have been violated; to fend him away was the wifer mode of proceeding. If putting on mourning, and feeling forrow for the murder of the King was an act that called for a war, it would not be against the King of England and his Courtiers that the French would have to wage it, but against almost every man in England, and indeed all Europe except France. It had been faid on a former day, by a Noble Marquis (Lansdowne) that the murder of the King might have been prevented; and the means which he thought might have been used with success for that purpose were bribery and corruption. This could not have been meant as a panegyric on the National Convention; for it would be no compliment to men to fay, that though deaf to justice, humanity, and the honour of 3 C 2

their country, they would liften to the tempting offers of gold; for his part he did not think that money would have produced the defired effect; the cause of the murder lay too deep for avarice to reach it; it was the effect of foul ambition, the more horrible as it was the more unnatural. It was true, that after the murder of the King, the armaments were increased, but not on account of that melancholy event, but of a variety of other acts done by France, and shewing that it was her determination to go to war with England and Holland. The non-refidence of an Ambassador at a Court was not in itself a ground for war; there were countries which, from etiquette, or some punctilio, were not in the habit of interchanging Ambassadors. This was the case with the Courts of Sweden and Portugal, who had not for many years, till the very last year, interchanged public There were other instances, as at Constantinople, Ministers. where feveral courts kept refident Ambassadors, though the Porte kept no resident Ministers with them. And yet those different nations were in perfect amity with each other, and never thought of war on fuch an account. This, he faid, applied as well to the case of M. Chauvelin, who had not been recognized, as of Lord Gower, who had been recalled.

The last charge was as follows :- " That his fecret coalition with the enemies of France, and particularly with the Emperor and Prussia, is confirmed by a treaty concluded with them the first of the month of January; that he has drawn into the same coalition the Stadtholder of Holland; that that Prince, whole servile obsequiousness to the orders of the Courts of St. James's and Berlin, is but too well known, has in the course of the French Revolution, and notwithstanding the neutrality which he professed, treated with disdain the agents of France, received the Emigrants, harassed the French patriots, counteracted their operations, released, in opposition to established usage, and notwithstanding the demand of the French Minister, persons who had been guilty of forging affignats; that in the mean time, with a view to concur in the hostile designs of the Court of London, he gave orders for a naval armament, named an Admiral, appointed Dutch ships to join the English fleet, opened a loan to defray the expences of the war, put a stop to exportations to France, while he favoured fending supplies of provision to the

Pruffian and Austrian magazines.

"Confidering, in fine, that all these circumstances no longer leave to the French Republic any hope of obtaining, by means of amicable negociation, the redress of these grievances, and that all the acts of the British Court, and of the Stadtholder of the United Provinces, are acts of hostility equivalent to a declaration of war, the National Convention decrees as follows:

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"Article I. The National Convention declares, in the name of the French Nation, that, confidering the multiplied acts of hostility and aggression of the above-mentioned powers,—THE FRENCH NATION IS AT WAR WITH THE KING OF ENGLAND AND THE STADTHOLDER OF THE UNITED PROVINCES."

With respect to the affertion of coalition with Austria and Prussia, and of a treaty with the former for the purpose of giving effect to what was called the concert of Princes, Lord Grenville faid, his answer, was in four short words-" It is not true." No fuch treaty or coalition had been formed: but, on the other hand, it was very natural that when his Majesty said that war was inevitable, he should confer with those powers who had a common cause with him, for the purpose of concerting operations for promoting the common interest, which they had to fet bounds to the ambition and principles of France. were the charges brought against England, as the grounds of the war; and one might have imagined that the Convention would have rested satisfied with having jumbled such a heap of them together; but it feemed there was one measure more adopted, and that was, that an address to the people of England should be drawn up and published. He was very anxious to see the production that would be given to the world under the name of this Address. His curiosity was raised on tip-toe for its appearance, on account of the names and persons who had been chosen for drawing it up. One was certainly a gentleman of great abilities, M. Cordorcet, but not extremely remarkable for confiftency; for when on a former day one Noble Lord quoted that gentleman's writings to shew that he wished to raise disturbances in England, and overturn its government as tyrannical; another Noble Lord (Stanhope) had read a private letter from M. Condorcet, to shew that he considered the English government as perfectly free. It was a pity that this gentleman did not referve his republican principles for his private correspondence with the Noble Lord, upon whom they could have no bad effect, and publish in his newspaper his eulogium on the English Constitution, which unfortunately he confined to his private correspondence with his friends. Another person employed to frame this Address was Barrere, a person who was president of the Convention during the whole time of the King's The fuccessor of Bradshaw was no doubt a very proper person to reconcile the people of England to the abolition of Monarchy, and the murder of Kings. The last person was perhaps the most remarkable of the three: it was odd, that out of 750 members of the Convention, the man who was thought most fit to disgust the people of England with their constitution, was he who was tried and convicted of having libelled it, and

whose name was held in execration by the whole kingdom. Such a man was Tom Paine. The Convention in publishing an address to the English nation was but little acquainted with the disposition of the people of England, whom nothing could bind more closely to their King and Parliament, than an attempt by France to diffociate and difunite them. The principles inculcated by the Convention were injurious to every fociety; they inculcated that infurrection on the part of the people was not only a right, but a facred duty; the consequence was, that if the principles were adopted, there would be an end of all stability of governments, and consequently there would be an end to the peace and order of fociety. Nothing could equal the wickedness of the principles of the French Revolution, but their complete difregard of them whenever their interest required that they should abandon them. Thus, though they afferted, that fovereign power necessarily resided in every people, the Convention had annulled the elections of Representatives made by the people of the Netherlands, ordered them to proceed to new elections, directed that the French troops should be called out at the time, no doubt for the purpose of securing the freedom of voting, and lastly, that, in case of any contested return, the French Commander in Chief should finally decide the question. Such were the principles that the French were abfurd enough to think they could get the people of England to adopt. As to the war in which we were now engaged, when he looked at the means of both countries to carry it on, he could not help looking forward with the most fanguine hopes of success. Having thus largely discussed the various grounds of the war, he faid, he would conclude by moving an address, to which he hoped for the general adherence of the house. His Lordship then moved.

" That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty to return his Majesty the thanks of this House, for his most gracious Message, informing us that the Assembly now exercifing the powers of government in France, have, without previous notice, directed acts of hostility to be committed against the persons and property of his Majesty's subjects, in breach of the law of nations, and of the most positive stipulations of treaty; and have fince, on the most groundless pretences, actually declared War against his Majesty and the United Pro-To affure his Majesty, that, under the circumfrances of this wanton and unprovoked aggression, we most gratefully acknowledge his Majesty's care and vigilance in taking the necessary steps for maintaining the honour of his Crown, and vindicating the Rights of his People. That his Majesty may rely on the firm and effectual support of the Representatives of a brave

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brave and loyal people, in the profecution of a just and necessary war, and in endeavouring, under the bleffing of Providence, to oppose an effictual barrier to the further progress of a system which strikes at the security and peace of all independent nations, and is pursued in open defiance of every principle of moderation, good faith, humanity, and justice.

"That in a cause of such general concern, it must afford us great satisfaction to learn that his Majesty has every reason to hope for the cordial co-operation of those powers who are united with his Majesty by the ties of alliance, or who feel an interest in preventing the extension of anarchy and consusion, and in

contributing to the fecurity and tranquillity of Europe.

"That we are persuaded, that whatever his Majesty's faithful subjects must consider as most clear and sacred, the stability of our happy Constitution, the security and honor of his Majesty's Crown, and the preservation of our Laws, our Liberty, and our Religion, are all involved in the issue of the present contest, and that our zeal and exertions shall be proportioned to the importance of the conjuncture, and to the magnitude and value

of the objects for which we have to contend.

The DUKE of PORTLAND begged the indulgence of their Lordships for one minute, to declare that he gave his most cordial affent to the Address moved by the Noble Secretary; for the question was not this day about the probability of a war, or about the means of avoiding it, but directly, whether we should stand up in our own defence, for the French had declared war. The part we had to act was unavoidable, and he had no hefitation in faying, that he should give his firm support to a war, the object of which was to refift doctrines that, in his opinion, went to the overthrow, not merely of all legitimate government, of the focurity of nations, of peace and order, but even of religion itself, and of every thing for which society was instituted. pledged himself, therefore, to the support of the war into which we were plunged; declaring at the fame time, that he should. not confider this as tending to prevent him from enquiring fcrupuloufly into the conduct of Ministers, to know whether they had done every thing that might have been done to avert the calamity, or tending to prevent him during the war from examining the conduct of Ministers in the way in which they should carry it on. As to what might be the power of the enemy, it was not, he thought, a question upon which they could now deliberate. If they were now in the very zenith of their power, and attempted by the same means to propagate the same doctrines, he would be ready to incur all the dangers of the war; for he thought that we never were engaged in a war upon which the

very existence of the government of this country was so much at stake.

EARL STANHOPE faid, it was too true that never, never was this country placed in fo imminent a fituation. It was indeed, a most important question upon which they were now to decide—it was no less than whether that House was ready to pledge itself to the support of a war begun by our Ministers, and in which we were the aggreffors? - It was trifling with the understanding of the nation, to refine upon the ceremonies and the etiquette that had been so much indulged in this affair. What was the fact? By the 2d Article of the Treaty of Commerce, concluded in 1786, which he ordered to be read by the clerk, it was expressly declared, that in case of any subject of mifunderstanding arising between the two nations, the fending away the Ambassador of one of them should be deemed a rupture. A mifunderstanding had taken place, upon which the two nations had corresponded, and M. Chauvelin was ordered away in the most ignominious manner. Here then was the rupture. He could not, therefore, in his conscience say, that it was a groundless and unprovoked aggression by France: for he considered it to be a war brought upon us by our own Ministers. They had begun it; they had taken the very course prescribed by an existing treaty to begin it; and if it was defired that the nation should act with becoming vigour upon the emergency, it was fit they should be told the truth: it was impossible to difguise the fact from Europe, or from posterity. He knew that he should be unpopular during the present frenzy, by thus declaring his opinion; but though he would have been ready to stand the last hazard in a war, where real and essential injuries had been sustained, he could not, as an honest man, agree to fanction a war where we were the direct and fole aggressors.

He charged his Noble Relation with not being correct in his facts. The Legislature had not established the Republic; it had been done by the Convention; and surely if any Assembly could ever be supposed to speak the sense of a whole people, it was the present Convention of France, for every man within the territories had a right to choose his representatives. However Noble Lords might object to this mode of election, they certainly could not say that an Assembly so elected did not speak the sense of the people. The Noble Lord said, that in going into this war, it seemed to be a principle not to compare our own strength against that of the enemy. We were to be plunged into it headlong, and yet the strength of the French was not an object to be despised. What were their resources? They had declared, what all the

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world felt to be the case in every country, that the crown lands were the property of the nation. They have declared what most men conceive, and what, fays the Noble Lord, I conceive is the case here and every where, that the church lands are in truth the property of the nation. I conceive it, my Lords, for the simplest of all reasons—they differ from every other species of property—they are not of the nature or effence of property; they are mere falary, and if a nation chooses they may withdraw that falary as a nation may withdraw its appointments from any person or body which it chooses to do without.—This was not all, they had done what America did in the case of the Loyalists, and what we did in 1715 and 1745-they had conficated the estates of the Emigrants. They had by this means got possesfion of the property of 20,000 persons—it amounted to no less a fum than 102,000,000l. Herling, upon all which fum, the annual rents of which they were now in the receipt of, they might borrow money. A statement had been laid before the Convention. by which it appeared that, after all the expences already incurred, and after all the expences of 1793, they would still have of property in their hands, ready to be converted into the actual finews of war, 152,000,000l. Sterling-finances such as neither this country, nor all the countries of Europe put together, could Such is the ability of the enemy that we despile. He faid he was fure the war might have been avoided, he was fure that it might even yet be avoided, and in this fentiment he deprecated the folly, the injustice, the infanity, of rashly declaring that the war was an aggression on the part of France, when it was so indisputably the act of our own Ministers. He would move an Amendment that would put truth into the Address to be presented to the King, and by the moving of which he should at least discharge his own duty to his King and country. He concluded, therefore, by moving to leave out all the words of the Motion made by the Noble Secretary, after the words "That an Address be presented to his Majesty," and to substitute the following:

"That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to represent to his Majesty, that by directing the French Ambassa-dor to leave this kingdom, his Majesty's Ministers have (independently of repeated provocations) produced a rupture between this kingdom and France, inasmuch as by the second article of the Treaty of Navigation and Commerce, made in the year 1786, between Great Britain and France, it is expressly declared, that the sending away from either nation the Ambassador of the other nation, shall be deemed a rupture between the two countries—And humbly to represent to his Majesty, that before this House can encourage his Majesty to concur in measures for

carrying on the war against France, this House humbly requests to be informed of the objects which his Majesty proposes to ob-

tain thereby.'

The EARL of MORTON said, the Noble Lord was much mistaken in arguing, that the sending away an Ambassador was stated to be a stipulated cause of rupture: the fact was, the article meant no more than this—that in case of a war, the merchants of either country should be allowed twelve months from the time of the rupture to remove their property, and that to avoid cavil, the twelve months should be computed from the day on which the Ambassador should have been sent away.

LORD VISCOUNT STORMONT confirmed this opinion of the Noble Earl who spoke last; and expressed his surprise, that any debate at all should have taken place upon the Motion for an Address; for we were actually at war, he said, and we must either bravely defend ourselves, or throw down our

arms, fall upon our knees, and fue for peace-

Oremus pacem, et dextras tendamus inermes.

The charges brought by the French as the grounds of the war had been so ably handled by the Noble Secretary of State, that he would say but little upon them. He was surprised to find them make it a crime in the English that they were not bespitibus feri, that they could feel for and relieve the distresses of fellow creatures, and that they should presume to say at the sight of those distresses,

Sunt lacryme rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt.

His Lordship contended that the stoppage of the British ships by France, was a violation of the 10th Article of the Treaty of Utrecht, which was revived by the last Treaty of Paris. As to the resources of France, they appeared to him very different from what they were confidered to be by the Noble Earl who moved the Amendment; and every man who read M. Chambon's Report, would fee that her resources were desperate. It was there stated, that no new taxes could be imposed, and that no new loan could be opened; as to resources from confications, and the fale of crown lands and forests, he was at a loss to conceive where purchasers or money could be found, when almost the whole kingdom was put up to fale. The only resource was des assignats et toujours des affignats; these were M. Chambon's own words.-The want of corn was severely felt; to remedy the evil, and prevent the scarcity from becoming greater, two plans had been proposed; one, that every individual should live two days in the week on rice and potatoes; the other, that all the dogs and cat should be killed. Both expedients clearly demonstrated the danger any whi

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re le its ger of a famine. His Lordship said, that he had never heard any thing that gave him more pleasure than the declaration of which he had heard that night from a Noble Duke, of his resolution to give government his hearty support in this war.

The EARL of LAUDERDALE faid, he lamented that he could not contribute to the unanimity feemingly fo much defired, but which in no part of the conduct of Ministers had they taken measures to obtain. Appeals to the passions of the most inflammatory kind, provoking and alarming all ranks of the people against the French, had, for a twelvemonth past, been employed to pave the way for this war-persons possessing hereditary distinctions had been excited by alarms for those privileges-men of property had been affailed by a cry of partition—and the lowest of the multitude had been deluded by the most incendiary and most proflagate hand-bills and pamphlets, such as one that he held in his hand, and whose ritle he read, stating that a number of Frenchmen had been taken up here for a horrid plot—that the water was poisoned by them—and other most inhuman infinuations, all of which too infamous to be detailed. If a cause was good, surely this was not the way to procure unanimity on it. It was most irksome to his feelings to be unable to join in the unanimity that was coveted, particularly when he must differ from the Noble Duke, whom he loved and revered, and to differ

with whom was most truly painful to him.

The Noble Lord stated with great clearness the reasons why he could not confent to fay that the war was groundless and unprovoked; for he must consider the act of prohibiting the export of foreign corn to France, when it was permitted to all other countries, as a direct outrage against that people; and in truth the Noble Secretary's apology for it was a proof that they confidered it as an act of hostility. " It was an act of precaution against an enemy." They considered the French as an enemy then at that time. Their defence of the alien bill, a direct infringement of the treaty of 1786, was equally feeble-" The French had taken precautions against foreigners too."-It was true the French had taken precautions against foreigners, but they had taken no precautions against foreigners which they had not taken against natives—and here was the distinction. England, Frenchmen were subject to grievances to which Engmen were not subject, and that was contrary to the treaty; but in France, Englishmen were subject to no difficulty to which Frenchmen were not equally subject. M. Chauvelin's dismisfion was faid not to be a rupture within the article of the treaty, because it required a previous misunderstanding between the two nations to make fuch difinishion a rupture. Had there not been a misunderstanding? Were not the two nations at iffue in

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a correspondence upon complaints on both fides? But Ministers themselves, in their former conduct, had shewn what was their own understanding of his dismission. They had recalled Lord Gower, and this also under the treaty would have been a rupture, if they had not, in the letter which he was directed to prefent. formally declared that his recall was not to be interpreted into an act of hostility. Had they so explained the dismission of M. Chauvelin? That this dismission, in the hostile and ignominious way in which it was done, was viewed by the French as a direct rupture, and was the immediate cause of the war, a strong fact brought out this evening, for the first time, would prove. had charged M. Dumourier with a mission to Lord Auckland. and at the fame time they fent another agent here. Did not this prove their anxious defire of peace?-These persons were charged to treat either directly as accredited Ministers, or indirectly. This was done just before the dismission of M. Chauvelin; but the instant that they heard of that act, they considered it as a rupture, and the declaration of war took place. The Noble Lord concluded a speech full of strong and forcible argument, by stating, that he was folicitous only of seeing such an Address as might procure unanimity—an Address of a general pledge of support to his Majesty; but not including words in which Noble Lords could not join without violating their consciences, and afferting what they solemnly believed to be untrue, For this purpose he should move after the words—" That an "Address be presented to his Majesty"—the following as a substitute for all the rest.

"That we learn, with the utmost concern, that the Assembly, who now exercise the powers of Government in France, have directed the commission of acts of hostility against the perfons and property of your Majesty's subjects, and that they have fince actually declared war against your Majesty and the United Provinces—we humbly beg leave to affure your Majesty, that the House of Lords will exert themselves with the utmost zeal in the maintenance of the honor of your Majesty's Crown, and the vindication of the rights of your people. And nothing shall be wanting on our part that can contribute to that firm and effectual support which your Majesty has so much reason to expect from a brave and loyal people, in repelling every hostile attempt against this country, and in such other exertions as may be necessary to induce France to consent to such terms of pacification as may be confiftent with the honour of your Majesty's Crown, the fecurity of your allies, and the interests of your people.

LORD HAWKESBURY expected the most perfect unanimity. He was forry there was one differient voice. The Convention d

Convention of France had been unanimous in declaring War against England: he did not think there was less reason for unanimity on the part of their Lordships. It had been stated that the prohibiting the exportation of grain to France was an aggreffion on the part of England. His Lordship thought otherwise. When France had shewn hostile intentions to this country, and had a large fleet in the Mediterranean, and was fitting out ships in every port of the kingdom, would it have been prudent to have fent grain to them who were to fight against us? Every state had a right to adopt precautions for her safety without being accused of any intention of giving offence to another state. The Alien Bill had been also alleged as a cause of War by France, but with as little foundation as the former. The Alien Bill was not restricted to France, but respected all foreigners, of whatever country; yet none had complained of the Bill except France, because, perhaps, its effect was not felt by any other nation in the same manner. His Lordship asked if the French had not pled the same precautions with respect to Englishmen, and all strangers that arrived in France? He observed, that it would he strange if a nation had not a right to make such laws as her particular circumstances might require, and that any nation should find a pretence for war in such an act of a sovereign and independent state.—His Lordship next adverted to the necessity of both measures. The first was requisite, from the apprehensions of a scarcity in this kingdom—and the second, from the extraordinary influx of Frenchmen, which created a ferious alarm, His Lordship supported the Address.

The MARQUIS of LANSDOWNE faid, he had co-operated with the Noble Duke in his zealous opposition to two wars; to the American war, which was a war against principles also, and the Dutch war, which was a war without aggression. In the outfet of these wars, they had heard the same lofty tone, the fame inflammatory language; but conscious that they were discharging their duty, they had given as firm an opposition to thele wars as he believed any Noble Lord was disposed to give to this. It was the peculiar duty of that House to give found advice to the Throne. Their best character was that they were a Council, not a register of edicts, and therefore thinking himfelf called on to deliver his opinion freely, and feeling it his duty to do fo, he rose for that purpose. His Lordship said, the benehits of free debate were too well known, and too often felt in the wildom of hearing and rehearing every Bill that came before them, that it was wonderful that on a fubject of fuch magnitude as a war, twenty-four hours was all that was to be given to a question upon which the very fate of England perhaps might

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depend. Ministers themselves should be anxious to avoid taking the nation with this fort of furprise. A stock-jobber might practife a furprife by fome ingenious fraud, from which he was to make a fudden profit, and which was to be at an end next day; a lawyer might exert a lucky thought, and gain for a client his process by a doctrine which he would cast off and reprobate the moment he had done with it: but the Ministers of a country to take a whole nation by furprife, to inflame them by artifice, to cajole them over to a purpose, by appeals to their passions, was fuch monstrous impolicy as well as mischief, that it could not be fufficiently reprobated. It was a mockery of their Lordships to say that they expected unanimity. They contrived to prevent unanimity; they had thrown the die they had involved the nation, and they now came down to eke out their former arguments with all the shreds and fragments they had left. They had rallied all the little vagrant reasons which had strayed from the main body the day before, and what were they?—contemptible trifling about ceremonies. They had committed us, and their conduct now lies at the tribunal of God, of the public,

and of posterity. Who were the aggressors, they who kept a Minister, or they who dismissed him? They who offered to explain, or they who refused to hear? They who offered to go on and trade in amity, or they who prohibited the export of grain to them, while open to all the rest of the world?—It was well known that Dumourier was anxious to come to England to negociate, not to fight, and nothing but the dismission of Chauvelin, in the harsh way in which it had been done, put an end to a mission that would have secured us the continuance of peace. The Noble Marquis made a forcible appeal on the state of the country, on the difcontents of Ireland, and the indisposition of Scotland, and dwelt much on the two latter. What would be the confequence, he asked, when the real public of England also should be raised, and the false public (the Associations) be laid asseep? The state of Holland was not a subject of considence to those who knew it best. If its Bank, its East-India and West-India Company should be affected, the whole fabric of Holland would give way. The great question to resolve was, what this war was for, what it was to do, and how it was to end? It was not a war of anger, nor of vengeance. What was it then? It was not now to be undertaken for Louis XVI. though the Secretary of State had jocularly treated the mode by which he had in a former debate proposed to save his life. He had been accused of supposing the French Assembly might be corrupted, yet other very virtuous Assemblies had not been proof against it. He had not

not mentioned money; he supposed the members would not have known what it meant, they could not tell the colour of a guinea, though a clever Minister might have taught them its value. He asked if the war was to be undertaken for the Queen and the rest of the Royal Family; instead of serving whom, he said, it would prove their ruin. He was assaid it was a war of aggrandisement on our parts; a war to prosecute which we were negociating with the other powers for treaties now understood, now every thing but signed, and which, as soon as we were fairly involved, their Lordships should upon some twenty-sour hours notice be called upon, as they had been on the Message, to sanction and to support.

The DUKE of LEEDS warmly approved of the Address and of the war, which he thought was unavoidable by Ministers, and in which his Grace declared they should have

his hearty support.

The EARL of KINNOUL strongly objected to the affertion that Scotland was indisposed to the war. There had been attempts made to spread sedition there; but the people in general, his Lordship said, loved, and would defend the Constitution; and he was persuaded they would with one voice support the necessary war in which France had plunged us.

The MARQUIS of LANSDOWNE faid he spoke only of Scotland's indisposition to the war, from the declarations he had seen published; the Noble Earl himself had borne him out

in much more than the amount of his affertion.

Lord Stanhope's Amendment first, and then Lord Lauder-

dale's, were put, and negatived.

The Address then passed in the affirmative, and the House rose at 12 o'clock, and adjourned to February 14th.

FEBRUARY 14.

This day the Lords presented their Address to his Majesty, of which the following is a copy:

The humble Address of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament affembled.

" Most Gracious Sovereign,

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, return Your Majesty our humble thanks for Your Majesty's most gracious Message.

"We assure Your Majesty, that we have learnt with a just sentiment of indignation, that the Assembly who now exercise the

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powers of Government in France, have directed, without previous notice, the commission of acts of hostility against the persons and property of Your Majesty's subjects, in breach of the law of nations, and of the most positive stipulations of Treaty; and that they have fince, on the most groundless pretences, actually declared war against Your Majesty and the United Provinces. That under the circumstances of this perfidious and unprovoked aggression, we are grateful to Your Majesty for the steps which Your Majesty has taken to maintain the honour of Your Crown, and to vindicate the rights of Your People: that nothing will be wanting on our part that can contribute to that firm and effectual support which Your Majesty has so much reafon to expect from a brave and loyal people in the profecution of this just and necessary war, and in endeavouring, under the blessing of Providence, to oppose an effectual barrier to the further progress of a system which strikes at the security and peace of all independent nations, and is purfued in open defiance of every principle of moderation, good faith, humanity, and justice.

"We affure Your Majesty, that deeply as we feel the happiness of our country interested in the result of this contest, it must afford us the greatest satisfaction to learn that, in a cause of fuch general concern, Your Majesty has reason to hope for the cordial co-operation of those powers who are united with Your Majesty by the ties of alliance, or who feel an interest in preventing the extension of anarchy and confusion, and contribut-

ing to the fecurity and tranquillity of Europe.'

HIS MAJESTY'S ANSWER.

" My Lords,

" I return you my hearty thanks for this very dutiful and af-

fectionate Address.

"I receive, with the greatest satisfaction, the assurances of your firm and effectual support in the prosecution of the just and necessary war in which I am engaged, in consequence of the unprovoked aggression of France; and I trust that, by the blessing of Providence, my efforts will be rendered successful for maintaining the rights of my people, preventing the extension of anarchy, and contributing to the future security of Europe."

EEBRUARY 15.

This day the Trial of Mr. Hastings was recommenced, for the fixth year. It may not be improper to take notice of the following alterations in the Peerage, which have happened fince this trial began:

Deceased,

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Dukes of Cumberland.	Viscounts Montague
Chandos	Bolingbroke
Manchester	Courtney
St. Albans	Dudley and Ward
Montague	Bishops Shipley
Leeds	Halifax
Somerfet	Beauderek incoli V
Earls of Huntingdon	Harley
Ferrers	Law
Poulet	Mos
Clarendon	Horne
Pomfret	His Royal woland
Hardwick	willion that
Oxford .	Barons Le Despencer
Abercom	Say and Scal
Cowper 4 sto	Grantley
Waldegrave	Borrington
Kinnoul 79 18.1	Benviole
Graham	Heathfield
Stanhope	Gageball
Francis Earl of Guildford	Craven (1)
Frederick Earl of Guildford	Rodney)
Darlington	Doven
Sandwich	to Mulgrave
Stafford	Camelforduchuseno
Orford '	. to ball enlymmt Total Si.
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Scotch Peers who were in the	last, but are not in this Par-
wordele) to alter	Ends of Kelly 14 2 Land
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and the Confel pitterned to the Bate ; which bereiting being HOUSE OF COMMONS of service business and some the band

FEBRUARY 4. TO AND SELECTION OF THE PROPERTY AND ASSESSED OF THE PROPERTY ASSESSED.

The House met according to adjournment. LORD PAR-KER rose and said.

"His Majesty has commanded me to acquaint the House, "that His Majesty received with the greatest satisfaction the as-"furances of their cordial and zealous support in the present im-

" portant conjuncture."

It was moved, that there be laid before this House "The "Report of the Select Committee of the Court of Directors "of the East India Company upon the subject of the Cotton "Manufacture of this country."

Mr. Ramfay attending, was called in and delivered the faid Report, with several Appendixes; the titles were read, and the a second dela

feveral papers ordered to be printed.

Mr. Ramfay likewife delivered "An Account of the total "of Debts owing by the East India Company on their several "Settlements in India, specifying the amount bearing interest on "the 30th of April 1786, and on the 30th of April 1790, ac-"cording to the latest advices," pursuant to an Order of that House of the 23d of January last, together with 27 other Accounts; the titles being read, the Accounts were ordered to be printed.

Moved by Mr. Grey, That there be laid before this House "A Copy of the Declaration made by Lord Auckland to the "States General of the United Provinces, on the first of Nor

" vember, 1792."—And alfo,

" A Copy of the Memorial prefented by Lord Auckland to "the States General of the United Provinces on the 5th of Ja-

" nuary laft." Both were ordered.

The Order of the Day being read for the second reading of the Rochdale Navigation Bill, and for hearing Counsel at the Bar of the House, after a short conversation it was agreed that Counsel should not be called in.

It was then moved, That this Bill be now read a second to a variety of more actions and their

time.

The House divided, "V will relieve based no stelly sewells

Ayes Q2 Noes 29

The Bill was read a second time and committed.

The SPEAKER faid he wished to submit to the House the necessity of their entering into some regulations respecting the business of Election Petitions. After a Committee had been fruck, an hour generally paffed before the Clerk of the House 2 E 2

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and the Counsel returned to the Bar; which hour he meant, with the approbation of the House, to appropriate to the dispatch of private business; and, as he felt it his duty to endeavour that all the Election Petitions should, if possible, be disposed of in the course of the present Session, he took that opportunity of giving notice, that on every day on which a Committee for the trial of an Election Petition should be chosen, he would take the Chair at a quarter before four, and have the House counted precisely at four o'clock. Before he fat down, the Speaker faid, he hoped the House would excuse what he had taken the liberty to suggest, when they confidered the extreme necessity, under the present circumstances, of accelerating as much as possible the dispatch of public bufittels. 2 of to

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER faid, that as the days on which Ballots for Committees on Election Petifrom usually take place were much occupied, experience had proved it to be inconvenient on those days to meet with a view to dispatch public business. He would therefore suggest to the House the propriety of fetting apart one day in the week for the dispatch of private business folely. He mentioned Wednesday as a day as proper for the purpose as any other, but submitted to the House to name their own day upon more mature confideration. The hand in or

The House having resolved itself into a Committee of Supply, Mr. Hobart took the Chair, when

LORD ARDEN rose, and officially moved a vote for an additional humber of 20,000 feamen, and 4 per month for their maintenance.

SIR JOHN JARVIS then stood up and faid, that he did not rife to oppose the motion that had been submitted to the Committee, but merely as the advocate of a fet of men extremely meritorious, and who were exposed to inconveniencies and injuries of which the House could have no conception. He alluded, Sir John faid, to a certain description of officers in his Majesty's navy. Sir John acknowledged that it would be necessary for him to make out the case of those in whose behalf he stood up an advocate, and to state their real situation. The Petty Officers in his Majesty's Navy, Sir John observed, were subject to a variety of mortifications and inconveniencies. They were allowed while on board a victualling ration in common with the meanest boy in the vessel; and on their arrival in a British port, they had accounts to fettle, which necessarily being complicated, they frequently had occasion for money, and were obliged to pay five per cent. for the use of it. They could neither go to nor from the vessel without being subject to this inconvenionce. Sir John Jarvis faid, that he flattered himself that the mere

mere flatement of this case would excite the attention of Government, and that fome permanent fund, adequate to the occasion, would be provided for the purpose of remedying an evil so manifest and so irksome. Sir John declared that several meetings had been held by officers on the subject; but they ended, as most meetings held by gentlemen of the profession to which he had the honour to belong, usually ended, re infecta. The suggestion, therefore, that he meant to offer was, that those officers who, like himself, were liable to be called upon every moment for the public service, and were willing to go to any part of the globe, without any referve or stipulation whatever, should not be subject to fuch inconveniencies in future. Sir John concluded with faying, that he did not fee how the inconvenience could be immediately remedied; but if it should be found practicable, he had no doubt it would be done.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS faid, that it would be doing an injustice to Government to suppose that any accommodation that could be afforded to the gentlemen of the Navy, or to any other public service, who felt inconveniencies that it was in the power of Government to remedy, would not be most readily adopted. At the same time, however, Mr. Dundas obferved, it could not be expected that an immediate anfwer could be given to the proposition of the Honourable Mem-

ber.

SIR J. JARVIS bowed affent, and the Refolution moved by Lord Arden was voted.

FEBRUARY 5.

Not Members fufficient to make a House for a Ballot,

FEBRUARY 6.

Not Members fufficient for a Ballot.

FEBRUARY 7.

Not Members fufficient for a Ballot.

FEBRUARY 8.

Not Members fufficient for a Ballot.

FEBRUARY Q.

Not Members fufficient for a Ballot.

Adjourned to the 11th.

FEBRUARY 11.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS brought the same message from the king which Lord Grenville this day presented to the House of Lords [Which the reader will see in the Lord's Debates]. After the message had been read Mr. Dundas moved that the same be taken into consideration to-morrow. Agreed to.

Mr. MARTIN begged leave to call the attention of the House to the situation of the French laity and clergy who had taken refuge in this country, and had no other support than that which they derived from the humanity of the nation. He understood that the fund for their relief was nearly exhausted, and that the one which was destined for the sublistence of the clergy in particular would be completed by the end of next month, unless means should in the interim be devised for raising a fresh fupply. It had been fuggested to him, that to this end, it would be a very proper measure to move the House to address his Majefty to grant a brief for making collections in the different churches of the kingdom. He was informed, that in England and Wales there were about 9200 places of worship belonging to the Establishment, and about 700 belonging to Diffenters; in all near 10,000; it was not too much, he hoped, to expect, that by means of the king's brief 40 shillings might be raised in each; and thus a confiderable fupply might be procured, which would fuffice for some time for the support of the unfortunate men in whose favour he was speaking, or enable government to Lettle them in fuch places as it might be deemed expedient ultimately to establish them. Perhaps it might be advisable to address the Crown to grant them some temporary relief. For his part, all he wanted, was to fulfil the offices of humanity to fellow creatures in diffres; and he would very willingly refign the talk he had undertaken into the hands of others who were better qualified than he was to perform it with most effect. But if no one else would take up the business, he gave notice that he would, on a future day, make a motion on the fubject which he had then opened to the House. No reply was made.

Mr. LAMBTON observed, that as it was a matter of public notoriety, that Ministers were understood to have entered into a treaty with the Emperor of Germany, he wished to ask the Right Honourable Secretary, whether he had any objection to the production of such treaty, if any such was really in

existence?

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS said, he did not consider public notoriety as a ground for the production of important papers; he did not mean to say whether any such as the Hon. Gentleman had just mentioned was or was not in existence; but if it was, he had not shewn any good ground for producing it. He presumed the Honourable Gentleman did not mean to press at that moment, and without any previous notice, a question upon

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upon the House, for which he then was not prepared. If he chose to make a motion on the subject, the next [this] day, the House would decide upon it according to its judgment and discretion.

Mr. GREY was furprised that the Right Honourable Gentleman should wish to monopolize the right of building arguments upon public notoriety; he had often given it as sufficient authority when it made for him, how then could he with any degree of confishency refuse that to others of which he was always teady to make so much use himself? If such a treaty as that to which allusion had been made was really in existence, he was decidedly of opinion that the House could not with propriety proceed to debate the king's melfage without having the treaty on the table.

Mr. LAMBTON remarked, that this treatry, if any fuch there was, would enable him to determine whether the war was not absolutely necessary on our part; for if it was in being in January last, when M. Chauvelin was endeavouring to negociate with us, he would admit the engagements contracted by us in the treaty might be fuch as to have put it out of our power to negociate with France on, and compelled us to take a part in the war. But, on the other hand, if no such treaty existed at that period, he might perhaps be of opinion that Ministers had not acted wifely in refusing to negociate, and that the war was not forced upon them by absolute necessity.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS faid, that if the Honourable Gentleman wished to press the business on the House the next day, an answer, of course, would be then given to his

Motion.

Mr. LAMBTON faid, it was his intention to make a motion

on the subject to-morrow.

MAJOR MAITLAND rose to make his promised motion respecting the trial of Mr. Hastings. He said, that in what he was about to fay, nothing was farther from his thoughts than to touch in the smallest degree upon the political character of the unfortunate gentleman who was under impeachment, or to arraign the justice of the House in sending him to trial, or to cenfure the conduct of the managers to whom the Commons had committed the talk of feeing it carried on; but still he must thate the extreme length of the trial as a departure from that principle of the law of England, which required that judgment should be speedily given in all cases, so that punishment might son overtake guilt, or an acquittal as foon proclaim to the world the innocence of the accused. In the case of Mr. Hastings, the departure from this principle had been greater than had ever been known on any former occasion, and the trial pro-

tracted to a length unexampled and unprecedented in the annals of this or any kingdom. Mr. Haftings had now been nine years under acculation, and nearly fix years upon his trial. When it was confidered, that this gentleman had returned home at an advanced period of life, and with a constitution impaired by the cares and fatigues necessarily attending upon the government of a great Empire, and broken by a long residence in a sultry climate, he was fure that no man could by any calculation suppose that his life could have lasted fix years from the day of his return; and yet during a period to which no one could have prefumed his life would have been protracted, had this unfortunate Gentleman been kept upon his trial, bending every year before the House of Lords, and the justice of his country. The length of this trial had been noticed in a neighbouring nation, and no doubt would be used as an argument by those who were difasfected to the Constitution of England, that Constitution which was dear to every man of fense and wisdom in the nation! From foreign to domestic foes he was anxious to take away every plaufible argument against the Constitution, that might be drawn from the delay of juffice, occasioned by the unprecedented length of this trial; and it was his fincere wish that some Member would undertake the task of devising some plan for expediting proceedings in criminal cases, and rendering it impossible that any other trial should ever be protracted in England to so astonishing a length. In turning in his mind the unprecedented hardship thrown upon Mr. Hastings by the unexampled length of his trial, he had resolved to move that a Committee should be appointed to confider of means for expediting the proceedings; and he meant in that Committee to move two specific propositions, one, that the managers fhould be at liberty to carry on the trial, though the House of Commons should not be present in Westminster Hall. Of this he was aware there was only one precedent, and that was in the impeachment of the Earl of Strafford: he was also aware that this mode was not without inconvenience and objection; for many cases might arise in which the Managers might have occasion to withdraw and consult their principals, which could not be done without great delay, if the House was not at hand and fitting. But this objection would not appear very forcible to those who considered, that on the days of trial the attendance of Members in the House was generally very thin; a very blameable remiffness was to be perceived in them not only on that, but on other occasions; and he, in common with others, had to lament, that notwithstanding the magnitude of the affairs that were pressing upon Parliament, it had been found impossible, during the last week, to make a House for the purpole of trying the merits of a contelled election. The Parliament

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liament had now lived nearly to the middle of its career, and yet so great had been its remissiness, that it had not yet decided upon the rights of many of the Members of that House to the seats which they actually occupied. This remissings was the more unpardonable, as it was the occasion of a delay of justice, which it was the spirit of the law of England should be administered with all due expedition. The other specific proposition which he meant to move in the Committee was, that a conference might be proposed to the Lords, for the purpose of devising means for accelerating the conclusion of the trial. He concluded by moving for a Committee to confider of means for expediting the trial on the impeachment depending against Warren Hastings, Elq.

The motion was seconded.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS faid, that the question then before the House might be discussed with the less difficulty, as the Honourable Gentleman had expressly declared that it was not his intention to censure either the House or its managers. He admitted that the trial had been protracted to a very extraordinary length; but, in the first place, the delay arose out of the nature of the case; the impeachment extended to almost every branch of the administration of the person who was the subject of it; and the evidence was to be collected from an immense mais of correspondence, and a vast number of books and records. It was impossible, however, that another trial should ever be extended to fuch a length as the present, for a new judicature had been provided by Parliament for all offences committed or that should be committed in India, by any of the Company's servants. The Honourable Gentleman had alluded to the notice taken in a neighbouring country of the extreme length of the trial in question. He (Mr. Dundas) not having to boast of the friendship of Mr. Briffot, could not be very much disposed to support his authority or weight in cases of this kind; still less was he inclined to recommend the *fummary* modes of administering justice faid by that gentleman to be preparing in England (viz. scaffolds for the Straffords and Lauds); on the contrary, he was much more disposed to excuse even delay, than to countenance the very compendious and expeditious way of dispatching trials which seemed to lie so near the heart of Mr. Brissot. As to the case of Mr. Hastings, it held out two objects to public confideration; one, the hardship to the accused occasioned by the delay; the other, the injury that might be done to national justice if by too great an attention to the ease of an individual, a guilty man should escape punishment. With respect to the motion for a Committee, he did not mean to oppose it; but he doubted much the propriety of the propoled conference between the two Houses, for it was very probable that the Lords might not think

it confishent with strict justice to the accused to hold a conference with his accusers on the subject of devising means to bring the trial to a speedy conclusion. All that could be expected from a conference might, in his opinion, be procured in another way; and it might perhaps be effected by a resolution on the

part of the Lords to meet oftener than twice a week.

MAJOR MAITLAND, in reply, took notice of what Mr. Dundas had faid about Mr. Briffet, which was an allufion to fomething that had been faid in the House of Lords by Lord Lauderdale, Major Maitland's brother (the Noble Lord had faid, that he was proud of acknowledging that Mr. Briffot was in the lift of his friends). The Major faid, that an allusion to what had happened in another place was irregular; as, for his own part, he was ready to fay, that he had not the honour of knowing Mr. Briffot, or calling him friend; but he would add, that if he were honoured with the friendship of such a man he would deem it a very high honour indeed.

MA fOR SCOTT made a short Speech on the occasion.

Sir WILLIAM YOUNG faid a few words, which closed the conversation on this subject.

The question was then put, and Major Maitland's Motion

for a Committee was carried without a division.

MAJOR MAITLAND defired to know whether his Majefty's Ministers would have any objection to produce papers containing accounts of the orders given for stopping thips laden with corn, and bound for the ports of France.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER observed, that the House had resolved to take the King's Message into confideration to-morrow, and it certainly was not confiftent with the practice of the House to call for papers, and without any reason assigned, that might prevent the House from adhering to

its Resolution.

MAJOR MAITLAND infifted that the information which he required ought to be laid before the House: the King's melfage stated that the war was unprovoked by us. Gentlemen ought to have before them evidence of that fact, before they could pledge themselves to the truth of it. The papers that he wanted would prove whether it was, that whilst corn was suffered to be exported to every other foreign country, that only was slopped which was destined for France. To come at the knowledge of this fact, he moved, that there should be laid before the House, " an account of all orders given fince the month of October 1702, for stopping all ships laden with corn and bound for

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER still adhered to his former opinion. A Message had been brought down from the Crown, informing the House that the country was at war ; war; ation quest as ne must to be grour fact,

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tion w the per port th that it provok When tunes, docum fary ; thould provok

Would defertin war; the House had resolved to take this Message into consideration the next day, and it must follow either that the papers in question must first be produced, which could not be done so soon as next day, or that the answer to so very important a Message must be delayed to a more distant day. Such delay he deemed to be totally unnecessary, as every gentleman who wished to ground any argument upon the embargo, might speak of it as a fact, and take all the advantage arising from the admission of it.

Mr. SHERIDAN said, he apprehended that the Right Honourable Gentleman did not see the true object and drift of the Motion. The answer which some one would propose the next (this day) to be returned to the Message, would probably be, as usual, an echo of the Message. Now the latter declared that the war was unprovoked by England. But how did this appear? It was afferted in France that we had entered into a treaty with Austria, and had said an embargo on all corn destined for France. If the former part of the affertion was true, the latter might be the effect of such treaty, and either act would be a pretext for war; in that case then how could the House, consistently with a regard for truth, resolve that the war was undertaken by France on groundless pretences?

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS observed, that gentlemen who should be disposed to vote against the Address the next day, might urge this as a reason for postponing the consideration of the Message, and the House would give the argument all the

weight that it should be found to deserve.

Mr. ROLLE approved of the embargo on corn; it was a measure called for by every part of the country, on account of the apprehension of a scarcity of grain at home; the people throughout the county which he had the honour to represent were highly satisfied of the necessity of the war; they breathed nothing but loyalty to the King and Constitution, and were ready to spill the last drop of their blood in defence of both.

Mr. GREY admitted, that loyalty to the King and Conflitution was felt and professed by every part of the kingdom; and
the people would, no doubt, shew the greatest readiness to support the war; but then it ought to be made to appear to them,
that it was forced upon them by inevitable necessity, and not
provoked by acts of aggression done by our own Ministers.—
When the people were called upon to risk their lives and fortunes, the Executive Government ought readily to produce every
document tending to prove that the war was both just and necessary; to refuse such documents, and yet expect that the House
should in the dark affert the war to be just, necessary, and unprovoked, was to insult the representatives of the people; and he
would not hesitate to say that the gentlemen could not, without
deserting their duty, submit to such treatment.

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Sir WILLIAM YOUNGE faid, that to call for the papers proving the specific measure of the embargo, would be calling for mere ex parte evidence; the whole of the correspondence with other powers, and which had led to this measure, ought to be laid before the House; partial evidence would tend only to mislead Gentlemen.

. Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS faid, that if any gentleman should argue upon the embargo as upon a fast, he might

boldly advance it, as no one intended to deny it.

MAJOR MAITLAND observed, that had the Right Hon. Gentleman deigned to fay this fooner, he would not have made the motion then before the House, and which he was willing now to withdraw.

Mr. GREY wished to know precisely whether he might understand it to be admitted, that when corn was suffered to be exported to other foreign countries, the embargo extended only to ships laden with grain, and destined for France.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER answered

in one word-Certainly.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS wished to add a few words by way of explanation. He faid the embargo was intended to retard the operations of an enemy, who was known to be making preparations of war against us.

This explanation was ridiculed by Mr. GREY, who observed that in this case France was represented as an enemy before any

act of hostility was committed.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS explained again; he faid the embargo was a measure of precaution calculated to retard the operations of a power disposed to attack us, and actually making preparations for that purpose; and he held it to be wife and prudent to prevent such a power from acquiring the means of acting against us with more vigour and effect.

MAJOR MAITLAND's Motion was withdrawn, with the

confent of the House.

Mr. GREY wished the Minister would say or no, whe ther any treaty was actually concluded between Great Britain and the Emperor? But no answer was given,

The Report from the Committee of Supply, of the vote of 20,000 seamen, including 4000 marines, was brought up; i put an end to the conversation. The House agreed to the Re

port, without any debate.

Mr. VANSITTART moved for leave to bring in a Bill for explaining and amending the Police Bill of last year. Th amendment which he proposed to make, was to exempt from th clause against vagrants such disabled soldiers and failurs as shoul be found on their way to their homes.

The Motion passed, and the House adjourned at ten o'clock.

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FEBRUARY 12.

MAJOR MAITLAND observed that there was a rumour that the Right Honourable Gentleman (Dundas) had given up his plan relative to a Militia for Scotland; he wished to be informed whether there was any truth in that rumour.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS faid, that Fencibles were to be raifed for that part of the kingdom. With regard to a Militia, he would fairly fay it was not his intention of giving up

that idea.

Mr. LAMBTON observed, that he was aware he was liable to have harsh things said of him at the present time, for the part which he took upon measures; he could not help that; he must fubmit to it, and do his duty as well as he could, which was to call for all the information which belonged to every subject, and necessary for the discussion of it in that House. He understood that in December last, a gentleman was sent, on the part of our Court, to the Emperor, for the purpose of negociating a treaty, and that a treaty between the two Courts had actually taken place in February last, and that four ships laden with corn, and bound for a place, had been stopped. He took notice of the communication between Lord Grenville and M. Chauvelin, and ironically congratulated Ministers on the success in bringing this country into a war, which he would defy the ingenuity of man to see the end of—a war infinitely more dangerous than the American war, or any other this country was ever engaged in at any period noticed in our history. He then moved, that an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, praying that he will be pleased to give directions for laying before the House, Copies of any Treaty or Treaties between the Emperor of Germany, or the King of Prussia, and his Majesty, since January last.

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS observed that the question was put to him last night in that House; the reason why he did not answer it was that he did not choose to give an answer without knowing the fact on which he answered. His general belief was then that there was no such treaty existing. Upon enquiry he did not find that there was any such treaty in ex-

istence.

Mr. LAMBTON observed that this answer might have been given last night by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; if his memory did not also fail him, this motion might have been saved, and the House spared the trouble of hearing it; however, as it was he was satisfied, and would with the leave of the House withdraw his motion.

Mr. BURKE expressed his forrow to hear we had not such a

treaty.

Mr. FOX faid, he rose for the purpose of paying a compliment to the Right Hon. Gentleman upon his candour in confess-

ing

ing he did not know of the treaty. He was told there was a treaty, but he did not know he did choose to trust to his own memory. There was a degree of caution which was very respectful to the House in that confession. To be sure it was a little unfortunate, that one of his Majesty's Secretaries of State should be ignorant whether or not a treaty had been entered into between his Majesty and another power; but then it was great satisfaction to the House this day, that he was able to say to-day, that there is no fuch treaty, and particularly for the House to reflect that the Secretary of State would not answer these questions before he inquired. This was a caution that might be set off against any want of attention in any other information that he may hereafter hastily give.

The motion was then withdrawn.

MAJOR MAITLAND then asked the Minister, Whether the late prohibition of the exportation of corn to France was under the idea that France was thought our enemy, and if

fo, at what time the prohibition commenced?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER faid he should, as one of his Majesty's advisers, be ashamed of himself if he had not advised his Majesty to iffue the Proclamation to prohibit the corn in question, for the reason stated by the Honourable Gentleman. The commencement he believed was about the 17th of December.

KING'S MESSAGE.

The Order of the Day being read for taking his Majesty's

Message into consideration,

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER faid, that in proposing the Address which he should have to move, he felt that in one view of the subject he might perhaps be dispensed from the necessity of entering into much argument, for whatever doubts might have dwelt in the breast of that small minority of the House, which opposed him on a former occasion; whatever doubt there might have been in respect to our involving ourselves in the general interests of Europe; whatever doubt as to the degree and manner of that satisfaction, which satisfaction, however, all had allowed to be necessary (differing only as to the manner, and differing a little, perhaps, as to the degree of it); whatever doubt also might have been entertained as to the conduct of Ministers, and as to some of the assurances in the last address; now, however, the circumstances were so varied, as to make it impossible not to expect the unanimous concurrence of the House on the present question; the question now was not, what degree of inconvenience was to be calculated upon, on the one hand, against a certain degree of convenience

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on the other; or what degree of present hazard we were to run. in order to prevent greater and future danger. But the simple question was, whether war, having been actually declared against you by an enemy (that enemy being, as he should shew, herself in all respects the aggressor), the House would promise his Maiesty their effectual support against her? The war was now at your doors, a war threatening the most fatal consequences to the very liberties and independence of this country. He should do an injury to the character both of the British Parliament, and of the British Nation, if he were to suppose there would be more than one opinion upon it, and were to doubt whether every man would not vie with his neighbour in testifying his loyalty to his Sovereign, his value for the British constitution, his resolution to maintain her independence, her liberties, her internal order, the religion, and the general interests of his country. Under fuch a state of the case he might, he said, be allowed to spare himself any long discussion; but it would not be useless to take a short view of our situation at the time of the last Address, comparing it with what was our situation both before that time, and with what had happened fince. When the King fent his last message, mentioning the several aggressions both actually made and indicated on the part of France, the House voted an Address. He wished to recall to their recollection what was their general feeling at that particular period. It was the fentiment both of the government of this country, and the Parliament also, that whatever might be the temptation to avail ourselves of the weakness of France in the midst of her distractions; whatever temptation there might be from long and ancient jealousy, from rival interests, or even from more recent injuries and unwarrantable interferences (all of them, in his opinion, mistaken grounds of war) still this country ought to temain entirely neutral. Accordingly, this country had been neutral; most studiously and perfectly neutral. Now, it might be expected, in consequence of so fair a system of conduct, as well as other obvious principles, that a reciprocal fystem of neutrality towards us on the part of France would be observed. But this was not all; there were positive stipulations of treaty which completely bound France to the fame principle of neutrality. Nay, there were, added to all this, ftrong and repeated affurances on the part of the Ambassador, in terms disclaiming, in the name of his country, all interference whatever in the Constitution of independent nations, and all intentions of aggrandizement. But what did the House feel to be the situation of things at the time of the last Address? Instead of disclaiming every interference with independent nations, as the promifed, France had proceeded to attempt nothing less, in effect, than the diffolution of the whole system of Europe; had passed one decree, which, by its contempt

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contempt of existing treaties, went to destroy all the relations in which independent nations flood to each other; and by another formal decree, under the infulting title of affiftance and fraternity, had invited, encouraged, and offered to defend and maintain treasons and insurrections from one end of Europe to the other. As to the affurance given by France of confining herfelf to her own territory, the House felt at the time of the last Address that even in the very first moment of their prosperity they not only did not fulfil this their affurance, but haftened even to put it out of their own power to fulfil it. By express resolutions for the destruction of the existing government of all invaded countries, by the means of Jacobin Societies, prompting the fame measures by orders given to their Generals, by the whole fystem adopted in this respect by the National Assembly, and by the actual connection of the whole country of Savoy, they had marked their determination to forget their affurance in this respect, to add to the dominions of France, and to provide means, through the medium of every new conquest, to carry their principles over Europe. On these grounds it was that the House selt themselves called upon to interfere (in such time and manner as circumstances might point out) to prevent the extension of this alarming and prefumptuous fystem. It appeared however to the House, notwithstanding all those circumstances, which in ordinary times would not have been allowed twenty-four hours deliberation, that an attempt might be fet on foot to obtain some explanation as well as some security against the renewal or profecution of the schemes of France. Accordingly an explanation, fuch as it was, being obtained and laid before the House, it appeared then to be their general feeling that if the alternative was an acquiescence in all the three points which were still afferted by France as an actual war against her, of the two, war was preferable. It was preferable because it was a shorter and a surer way to that end which the House had undoubtedly in view as its ultimate object, a secure and lasting peace, for as to a precarious peace, a peace loaded with nearly a war expence, a peace confeffedly doubtful and probably short, leading to future war on terms much more disadvantageous than the war that might now be entered into, this could not be the object of the House; the bleffings of peace were nearly annihilated, if peace was not joined with fecurity.

If we loved peace, if we understood its many bleffings and advantages, if we valued our commerce, if we wished to increase our revenue and to confolidate and improve the internal happinels of our country, be affured (faid Mr. Pitt) you do more completely by timely measures to obtain a folid peace, than by a tame acquiescence in those principles, and of that conduct in other countries, which have for their final object the destruction

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of all your present peace and security. Some gentlemen on the other fide having cried, Hear ! bear ! on the mention of Commerce and Revenue, Mr. Pitt observed, that gentlemen seemed to have wondered at his venturing to mention Revenue or Commerce. Undoubtedly war was not favourable to their improvement; was any man so void of all common sense as not to know that war in both these respects made you liable to losses? This mischief, however, would accrue in the case of a war deferred, as well as a present war. But as to a present or future war, this was not now the question. One would imagine from the manner of those gentlemen, that we were not now at war, but that France had decided the point. War (even though voluntary on our part) would, in the opinion of the House, have been more expedient than peace, on the terms we expected to fubmit to. But if war were then preferable, what was the case now? Having stated the sentiments of the House at the time of the Address, and the circumstances that led to it, he would now

detail what had followed. The House would remember, that when he moved the former Address he had little expectation of peace, not because his Majesty's Ministers were undesirous of it, but because he did not see those dispositions in France which encouraged any such expectation from them in the prefent moment; he had declared, however, in the House, "that up to the moment of hollility it would still be possible for some new circumstance to arise, of which advantage might be taken, in order to favour and eventually to bring about a pacification." What then had happened fince?—Since that Address his Majesty had thought fit to fend away M. Chauvelin, he not being any longer accredited as Minifter of France, and the King not conceiving it proper to receive him under the newly tendered character of Plenipotentiary of the French Republic. It had been the tenor of the conduct of the House of Commons, not officially to acknowledge any Minister of the Republic. Government had adopted the fame principle, yet it was equally clear to them that there could be no communication, however unofficial, which the King's Ministers ought not willingly to receive, and therefore even after an ultimatum, for fo it appeared to be, had been given in by M. Chauvelin, they had still expressed their willingness to receive any further communication. Now was this prevented by the difmillion of M. Chauvelin? He was not ordered away immediately; eight days were allowed, and if he had any bona fide communication to make, he was certainly in no wife precluded from offering it. M. Chauvelin however thought proper to retire immediately. Still there existed no obstacle to prevent commuacations even through any other quarter, and what happened? A gentleman

A gentleman of the name of Maret, professing to be qualified by calling himself Charge d'Affairs, arrived in London, purporting to be sent for the purpose of taking charge of M. Chauvelin's papers, which however M. Chauvelin had carried away with him; but this gentleman, excepting a mere notice of his arrival, neither made nor offered to make to any Member of his

Majesty's Government any one communication.

The next event in the order of time, which he had to flate. was the news received from France of an embargo in all her ports, detaining all British vessels and persons, a step which could hardly be otherwise considered than as an act of open hostility; a step taken without notice, against the law of Nations, to be warranted only by some aggression made or threatened on the part of the country whose ships and subjects are detained. Here perhaps it might be faid, that on account of their stopping certain French ships loaded with corn, the government of Great Britain might be under the same charge; to this point he should come presently. He believed if Government were chargeable with any thing, it might rather be, that they were even too flow in afferting the honour and vindicating the rights of this country, Notwithstanding this violent and outrageous act, such was the disposition to peace in his Majesty's Ministers, that the channels of communication, even after this period, were not shut; a most fingular circumstance happened, which was the arrival of intelligence from his Majesty's Minister at the Hague, on the very day when the embargo became known here, that he had received an intimation from General Dumourier, that the General wished an interview, in order to see if it were yet possible to adjust the differences between the two countries, and to promote a general pacification. Instead of treating the embargo as an act of hostility, and forbearing from any communication, even after this aggression, his Majesty's Ministers, on the same day on which the embargo was made known to them, gave instructions to the Ambassador at the Hague to enter into a communication with Gen. Dumourier; and they did this with great fatisfaction, on feveral accounts, first, because it might be done without committing the King's dignity; for the general of an army might, even in the very midst of war, without any recognition of his authority, open any negociation of peace. But this fort of communication was desirable also, because, if successful, its tendency was immediately to stop the progress of war, in the most practical, and perhaps, in the only practical way. No time was therefore loft in authorifing the King's Minister at the Hague to proceed in the pursuit of fo defirable an object, if it could be done in a fafe and honourable mode, but not otherwife. He had now brought the history down to that moment, when the explosion:

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took place. Before the communication from M. Dumourier, professing a disposition to pacification, reached London, before it could possibly reach London, the declaration of war took place at Paris. These were, therefore, the circumstances he had to state. And now, if the House were to debate at all, it must be whether they would enable his Majesty to repel an aggression under all these circumstances. Having brought the House down to the period of the declaration of war in France, he would now enter into the motives for that declaration, which he would deduce not from his own reasonings, but from what were avowed to be the motives to it by themselves; for a decree, very much in the nature of a manifesto, had been passed, to which he should

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But first, he must again revert for a moment to the embargo. The Chancellor of the Exchequer then stated, that a detention of ships, if no ground of hostility has been given, is, in the first place, contrary to the law of nations. In the fecond place, there was an actual treaty between the two countries, providing for this very circumstance; and this treaty (if not set aside by our breach of it, which he should come to presently) expressly faid, that, " in case of u rupture, time shall be given for the removal of persons and effects." We were to come then to the declaration of war itself. It begun (as would appear by a reference to the fort of manifesto he had spoken of) with one general proposition, of which all the following ones seemed to be mere illustrations, viz. " That the King of England has not ceased, " particularly fince the 10th of August, to give to the French " nation proofs of his ill-will, and of his attachment to the co-" alition of crowned heads." Here was an affertion, that the King of England had never ceased to give proofs of his ill-will, though particularly fince the 10th of August. Now, although the National Convention made this bold and capital affertion, that the King of England had never ceased to shew his ill-will, though they laid this down as the very foundation of the war they declared, and of all the aggravating circumstances attending it, it was most remarkable, that they had never once shewn, nor even attempted to shew, any one act of the King of England, of any kind whatever, by which this ill-will had been difcovered antecedent to the 10th of August, though they declare, " he had never ceased to shew it." Nay, he would venture to allert, and he defied all contradiction upon this point, that the strictest neutrality had been observed antecedent to the time he was going to speak of, and it was notorious to every man that it had been observed. But the declaration not only says that the King had shewn his ill-will, but that he had "given proofs also of his attachment to the coalition of crowned heads," and that 3 G 2

"he had never ceased" to give those proofs, for so it is expressly worded, and " especially since the 10th of August." Now what was the coalition of crowned heads before the 10th of Au. gust? A coalition professedly for the purpose of invading France. and interfering in its internal government. Now (faid Mr. Pitt with peculiar emphasis) " I do here in this House declare, in the first place, that that treaty with the Emperor, which is the one fingle proof that is alleged of this interference, is utterly and absolutely destitute of the shadow of a foundation. In the next place I wish publicly and explicitly to say, that not only no coalition treaty was made, but that no one step has been taken, and no one engagement of any kind has been entered into, either before the 10th of August, or fince, with any view to any interference in the internal government of France, nor with any view to dictate any form of government to that country." He declared that the whole of the interference of Great Britain had been (in consequence of French aggressions) with the general view of feeing whether it was possible, either by our own exertions, or in concert with any other powers, to repress the French fystem of aggrandizement and aggression, with the view of seeing whether we could not re-establish the bleffings of peace, whether we could not, either separately or jointly with other powers, provide fecurity to our own country, or provide general security; and if this attempt were fruitless, that the object, in the view of government, had then been to embark in fuch a manner with other powers of Europe, as might feem most cal-culated to promote eventual success. The next charge brought by the National Assembly was, " That after the epoch of the 10th of August, the King had ordered his Ambassador to retire from Paris, being unwilling to recognize the Provisional Executive Council, created by the Legislative Assembly." This was one of the proofs of ill-will (subsequent indeed to the 10th of August), and one of the alleged foundations of the war. Because the King of England, after that bloody 10th of August, a day paralleled indeed, but not eclifped, by the 3d of September, ordered his Ambaffador to retire, France is justified in declaring war. He asked the House what was the fituation of things in France at that time; whether the faction who then usurped the government were to give way (as it proved that they did impart) within a month after, or what was to be the event of all those horrible convultions who could then judge? He asked, was it then fafe, decent, or honourable, as a neutral nation, that an accredited Ambassador from the King of England should be holding his residence at Paris at such a period? And as to the hostility of Great Britain, presumed from this circumstance, it had never before been spoken of on this ground. It was a fair TEB quel old :

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question, in the case of an independent nation subverting all its old authorities, whether the newly substituted authority should be recognized or not; on what principle of the law of nations could this right, in an independent country, to withhold its recognition of a newly constituted power, be denied to it? But it was not only a general right; the case was still stronger. When there was every concomitant circumstance of tumult, violence, and blood, as well as confusion and instability, was every independent nation then bound to acknowledge this new and fudden authority; to acknowledge it before it was well constituted; before it knew what this authority was? But, besides, France, by its own confession, had not yet given itself a constitution. The very charge in the decree was, that the King "would not recognize the Provisional Executive Council." France, he repeated, had not yet given itself a constitution; all was provifional, and so it remained to this day; it was a provisional council, a provisional legislature, a provisional constitution; and this was what they go to war with us for not recognizing. Nay, they had not yet formed even any conflitution whatever, which, when they had formed, they were to present to the people of France, whose approbation was, by their own confession, to give it validity. They had not began to form it when that declaration of war upon us, for not recognizing this Provisional Council, was made; all was temporary, being either usurpation on the one hand, or usurpation on the other. Was it wonderful, then, that the Ambassador of a neutral nation should retire? He was fent to the King of France, the till then acknowledged Executive Power of France, and by the forcible and bloody revolution of the 10th of August the exercise of Monarchy was suspended. Was it fuch an aggression as to become a cause of war, that the fending an Ambassador to that Monarch is suspended also? The fucceeding charge is, " That the cabinet of St. James's discon-" tinued from the same period of the 10th of August its cor-" respondence with the French Ambassador in London, un-" der pretence of the suspension of the former King of the "French." He had shewn already what this " pretended fuspension" was. The suspension of a King, recognized by the French nation, for Monarchy had been declared to be a necesfary principle of the French Constitution. This Minister, refiding in England, was accredited by the French King, and at that time by the French King only, and all this was at a time when they never asked us to receive, nor even tendered, either publicly or privately, any one species of communication. The next ground of war is, " That fince the opening of the Con-"vention, we have neither corresponded nor acknowledged the "powers of the Convention." That we had refused to cor-

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respond officially with the Ambassador, was perfectly true, and he had already stated under what circumstances of the law of nations we had done so. But when was this refusal to correspond? In December, at a time when we had not only a right to consider it as a new and general question, in which we had a fair right of option, but at a time also, when we had received such aggressions and causes of offence, that if he had been before received, we should have had a full right to refuse all intercourse with their Ambassador, and to have required of them satisfaction.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer added, that he had no difficulty in here stating, that as the National Assembly were at this time embarked in that lamentable proceeding, which ended in the death of their king, this was most unquestionably a reason for not communicating with their Ambassador. He did not wish to mention that dreadful event, as one that ought in any measure to draw on a war of vengeance; much less did he mention it as implying any intention of overturning the internal government of France. But furely it might be faid, nevertheless, that with a view to the example afforded to all Europe, with a view to the example to our own country, with a view to general good, and even with a view to the common feelings of humamity, it did not become this country to be giving credit to the Ambaffador of a Republic, occupying itself in such a proceeding, by the formal recognition either of its own powers, or those of its Ambaffador. He next came to the charge of stopping the grain to France, forbidding the circulation of Assignats, passing an Alien Bill for the protection of our lives and persons, and sheltering the chiefs of the emigrants, all which are stated as grounds of going to war with us. That we had taken measures which might require explanation, and might possibly be deemed provocations, if there were no circumstances to account for our conduct, he would readily admit; but explained as they all were, by notorious circumftances, he infifted there was no just ground of provocation. As to the stopping of corn, the point most infifted on, what could be more plainly a duty of this Government, when they had feen hostile intentions in France, both against ourselves and our Allies, when they were expecting equipments against us, and expeditions, than to stop those supplies of grain going to the ports of France, by the help of which those expeditions against ourselves were to be carried into effect. Government, he declared, must either have been children in understanding, or traitors in their neglect of duty, if they had failed to take fuch obvious precautions. And when was the period of our stopping these supplies? It was in the month of December. Had not the National Convention then passed their Decree for opening the Scheldt, in defiance of all respect of Treaties? Had

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they not passed the Decree of Fraternity, which was, in other words, a declaration of war against all neutral nations? Had they not united Savoy to themselves? Were they not then, under the infulting names of liberty and fraternity, feizing upon Brabant? Were there not hoffile troops then essembling on the frontiers of Holland, of which the invation might be feared every hour? Did we then overstep the principles of self-defence by these cautionary measures? As for the forbidding of the circulation of Assignats, was it possible to imagine we had no right to do it? Was it not in our own country that we forbid it, where it came expressly under our fovereignity? it was only forbidding that to pass for something which many people supposed to be worth nothing; for the sake therefore of prohibiting and avoiding a gigantic system of swindling we had undoubtedly a full right to take the measure, and the adding this to the catalogue of aggressions on our part was ridiculous. Great indeed was their ingenuity in finding out causes of war, yet ingenious as they were, he believed their ingenuity would be all exhausted before ever their modesty would in any degree be affected. As to the Alien Bill, it was called a violation of the Commercial Treaty. Be it so. But let it be observed, the treaty itself says that no breach of any article of the treaty, unless after full explanation. shall annul even the treaty itself, much less can it be a ground of war. But neither was the case applicable; the treaty had commercial transactions in view, not political safety-no treaty could preclude a country from taking the necessary means for its own fafety. But even the letter did not apply. Foreigners are only allowed by the treaty to refide "while they obey the laws of the country;" and the treaty applying to all foreigners, the French by the letter of the treaty are bound by it. But who were they that complained? The French who for their own fafety's fake had never strictly fulfilled the treaty in this very particular, and had never been charged by us with breaking it, though they had acted with ten times more violence to the subjects of Great Britain, and yet this measure, taken to prevent political mischief, perhaps assaffination, was made a cause of war.

The "armament made by Great Britain" was another head of complaint, and when was it that this armament was fet on foot? Not until after the decree respecting the Scheldt had taken place. Not until the decree, amounting to universal war, and the spirit of universal conquest, had appeared in France. until they had received and encouraged at the bar of the Convention all manner of treasonable and seditious applications. But it is added, that "we perfecuted at the same time all those who maintained French revolution principles in England." That We persecuted these people could only mean that we prosecuted the

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libellers of our Constitution, according to the laws of Great Bri. tain; and that we did so by the means of British Juries, was congenial to our character, was necessary to our interests, and it refulted from our duty. Mr. Pitt observed, that the National Asfembly, as it appeared from many fymptoms, themselves rather despaired of seeing their principles make great progress in England: true, however, to their principle of separating the King from his Parliament, and the Parliament from the people, they still make an infulting appeal to the nation of Great Britain, though at the very time of making it, the involuntary confession is extorted from them, that we do not like their opinions. We fee, then, the ground of this attack upon us. We had heard much in the House on a former day of the absurdity of making war against opinions; but we had here, in fact, this very war against opinions; a war which the National Assembly had begun, and which it was the very genius of that Assembly to enter upon, wherefoever they had power to do it. They refused to tolerate on the face of the earth any opinions but their own; and because a nation free and independent, a nation whose liberties had stood the test of experience, happy beyond all other countries in the frame of its government, because a nation that had attained the utmost height of practical prosperity ever experienced in the known world, dared to prefer its own laws, its own constitution, and its own government, to the present French laws, French conflitution, and French government; this very preference of their own principles, by a nation that was experiencing the good effects of them, was made the ground of a war against them. A war it must be, which, if the French fulfilled their threats, must indeed be a war of extirpation. Never, never would England, till the very nation was extirpated, receive those principles which the National Assembly of France proposed to substitute in the place of British liberty. If we looked to the article which next follows, we might observe a dexterous art of composition in it, by means of which one resolution is made to throw great light on another. It fays, "that although the Provisional Executive Council has taken all measures to preserve e peace and fraternity with the English nation, yet the British Minister has nevertheless persevered in his system of ill-will " and hostility." They have taken measures to preserve peace and fraternity with the British nation, and yet the Minister per-Now, happening to know the meaning of the word " fraternity," no wonder we were not won by it; we had refifted these kind embraces, because they were like the embraces of certain animals, who embrace only to destroy; we were not willing to be the prey of fuch animals. " We persevered," they fay; " we continued our armaments, we even fent a fleet

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" up the Scheldt." One would suppose, by the tone in which it was complained of, that this fleet went to attack some place belonging to France, or some ally of France, whose rights they were bound by treaty to defend. Who would imagine that precifely the reverse of this was the case, that France had invaded the rights of an ally of ours without the least pretext whatever, and that this fleet went merely to defend her against aggression? But the fleet was fent, it is further faid, "to trouble the opera-"tions of France in Belgia." To trouble the operations of the French in Belgia! That this should be stated under all the circumstances of the state of Belgia as a popular ground for justifying their hostilities against us was a little wonderful. The operations of France in Belgia were as little popular, and as much troubled already without even the affistance of a British fleet, as the very enemies almost of France could wish them to be. The next charges, and they were most weighty ones, were that " the " King of England fent away M. Chauvelin eight days after the "King of France's death, and that he also manifested his attachment to the cause of this traitor." The first of these points he had answered already—the other amounted to neither more nor less than this, that they must go to war with you, because you ventured to grieve for the affecting case of that unhappy Monarch. They not only dictate to you principles, but even passions and feelings, which you must observe on pain of their declaring war against you. You must neither love nor hate, nei-The crime now is ther rejoice nor weep, but as they please. not, merely that we ourselves are free, but quod GEMITUS Romani populi liber fuit. Britons, however, would not restrain their fighs at that calamity of the French King; it was not in the power of Britons to restrain them; they must weep over such scenes as those, even though France should make it one ground of a declaration of war, that they prefumed to do fo. Chancellor of the Exchequer faid, he had now gone through all the grievances on which the French declaration of war, ac ording to their own formal statement of them, was grounded, one only excepted, which was, the false fact of a treaty figned between us and the Emperor in the month of January. One complaint, indeed, was also added, that besides the first armament a further augmentation of force was made foon after the King's death. And was there no ground given by France for this further armament? Was it the King's death that caused it? Had we forgot the new re-unions, the new exertions made in France, the new fymptoms of hostility; had there not been in the mean time a letter fent from the Minister of Marine of France to all her sea-ports, prompting them to fit out privateers, suggesting the landing 50,000 caps of liberty in England? Had 3 H

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there not been in the mean time also a decree to equip 50 fail of thips of the line? he hoped which would exist only in the de-But was it for France to state an augmentation of our marine, ordered subsequent to their marine, as a formal ground of her going to war with us? In thort, was there any thing in all her lift of our injuries, which was not rather an aggravation of her injuries? We had most religiously and cautiously kept our neutrality; when injured, we had pushed to the utmost our disposition to receive explanation, till such was the situation of Europe, that nothing but a fort of prudence imposed upon us by strict necessity could have led us to persist in our procrastination: still we gave an opportunity for pacification—but they prevented us by an embargo-fill we did not confider even the embargo as a declaration of war; we gave orders in Holland with a view to pacification; but they then positively declare war, and they were now actually waging war against us. Mr. Pitt ended with declaring, that this was a faithful and not an inflamed description of what had happened; it remained only to be feen whether, under the bleffing of Providence, the spirit and resources of a free, a loyal, a brave and happy people, must not be successful in their operation to check the progress of those whose views and principles, if unopposed, would lead them on to the destruction of the world. In contributing to give this effectual check, every power in Europe, who felt herfelf the value of peace and fecurity, was now preparing to unite.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer then made the same motion for an Address which Lord Grenville had this day made in the House of Lords; which the reader will find in the Lords' de-

bates of this day.

Mr. POWIS feconded the motion. Every thing, he obferved, the country held dear was at stake; her peace, her profperity, her fafety, were all attacked by France; a monster, as it were, whose hand was lifted against every man, and against whom every man's hand should be raised. It had been asked, what was to be gained by the war? He would answer, that every thing was gained which we avoided losing, He might be asked, what should he gain by resisting a highwayman? Not the highwayman's purse to be fure, but he might save his own. England, however, had more than her purse to lose; her constitution and very political existence were in danger: the conduct of Ministers, therefore, he applauded; and though he was not one who had always approved of their measures, yet he most heartily approved of the prefent, and rejoiced that they enjoyed the confidence of the country at this critical period.

Mr. FOX faid, that on an occasion so important, and not bearing the charge of pusillanimity from considering the present

crifis as highly alarming, it would ill become the duty which he owed to his constituents and to the nation, to decline meeting the imputation of being the abettor of France, with which he was already menaced; or by the bold misconstructions of his sentiments and arguments to which he had been accustomed, to be deterred from examining and stating what was the true lituation in which the country was involved in war. He had never accused the Honourable Gentleman who seconded the address of a systematic opposition to Ministers, nor of acting upon any system; but he called upon him to name those persons in the House, if any such there were, whom he meant to include under the description of supporters of the French system. Honourable Gentleman knew that just so were those treated who opposed the folly and injustice of the American war. withstanding their being long and industriously misrepresented as the abettors of rebellion, a band of as patriotic and as honourable men as ever defired public gratitude by public fervices, by some of whom he trusted he should be supported in opposing the address now moved, united their abilities to put an end to that war, and at length succeeded. The Right Honourable Gentleman who moved the Address stated the origin and necessity of the war, on grounds widely different from those assumed by the Honourable Gentleman who seconded it. The latter faid, the power of France, under every change of men and circumstances, was a monster, whose hand was against all nations, and that the hand of every nation ought to be against France. The former had faid, that the cause of the war was not our general bad opinion of France, but specific aggressions on the part of France. So far the difference was great with respect to our immediate situation of being actually at war; and it was still greater when we came to enquire into our prospect of peace. If we were at war because France was a monster whose hand was against all nations, it must be bellum internecinum—a war to extermination; for nothing but unconditional submission could be adequate to the end for which the war was undertaken, and to that alone must we look for a safe or honourable peace. If, on the contrary, we were at war on account of a specific aggression, for that aggression atonement might be made, and the object being obtained, peace might be concluded. He therefore hoped that the Right Honourable Mover of the Address was fincere in the statement he had given, although he had failed in making out the grounds on which he endeavoured to support it.

Few of those, he trusted, who had been most zealous in recommending the expediency of this war, wished it to be a war to extermination—a war for extirpating French principles, not for circumscribing French power; yet all their arguments tend-

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ed to alarm him. They never talked of the danger of French power without introducing as a danger more imminent, the propagation of French principles. The Honourable Gentleman asked, if he could be expected to make terms with a highwayman, or to take the highwayman's purse as a satisfaction for the attack upon his own? Certainly not. The Honourable Gentleman knew his duty to Society better, than to let the highwayman escape, if he had the means of bringing him to punishment. But this allusion shewed, that the war with France was in the opinion of the Honourable Gentleman a war of vindictive jus-We faid, that our object in the war was not to effect a change in the internal government of France, but to weaken her power, which in its present state was dangerous to us, our allies, and to Europe; and that object obtained, we were willing to make peace. But would any man fay, that when he had difarmed an highwayman, it was fafe to leave him free to get other arms? No man certainly; and no more on this principle could we in any state of humiliation to which the power of France might be reduced, leave her at liberty to recruit that power, and to renew aggressions, to which we contended she must have the inclination, whenever she had the means. The Honourable Gentleman might support Ministers for any reasons that to him feemed good—either because he thought them wise or ignorant, honest or dishonest; but he had no right to accuse those who thought differently from himself, of sowing disaffection among the people, because they wished to inform the people what were the true grounds of the war which they were called upon to support with their property and their lives. The Hon. Gentleman rejoiced that the public entertained a more favourable opinion of Ministers, in the present crisis, than Ministers deserved. Did he mean to argue, that when Ministers, by their misconduct, had brought the country into danger, and the people, ignorant of their true characters, were disposed to think well of them, the House of Commons, who knew better, should endeavour to continue, instead of removing their delusion? His doctrine would then come to this; that implicit confidence in Ministers, so often and so justly reprobated, was the first duty of the House; that they had nothing to watch, and ought never to enquire. Monarchy, it was truly faid, was the corner-stone of our constitution, and of all the bleffings we enjoyed under it; but it was not the only corner-stone—there was another fully as important—the constant jealousy and vigilance both of the people and their representatives, with respect to all the arts of the executive power.

He felt himself considerably disappointed by his Majesty's Ministers. He had flattered himself that when unanimity was so

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fo ry very defirable, they would have brought down a message from his Majetty, calculated to enfure it; that they would not have confidered triumphing over the very small number to which they boafted of having reduced their opponents, to be a matter of fuch consequence, as to call for an Address to which they knew these few opponents could not agree, because to do so must preclude them from all subsequent enquiry. If they had moved an Address, simply pledging the cordial co-operation of the House in profecuting a just and necessary war to a safe and honourable peace, to fuch an Address, whatever might have been his opinion of the previous conduct of Ministers, whether he had thought it temperate and conciliatory, or arrogant and provoking, he should have agreed. But the House was now called upon to vote, that Ministers had given no cause or provocation for the war; to say, that they would enter into no investigation of the origin of the war; to give them indemnity for the past, and a promise of support for the future. This was the manifest tendency of the Address; and to prevent the want of unanimity, which such an Address could not but occasion, he should move an amendment, in which even the warmest advocates of the war might concur, because it expressed no disapprobation of the conduct of Ministers,

as theirs ought to have expressed no approbation.

But first he must examine the alleged causes of the war. He would not enter into any of the common place arguments on the miseries and calamities inseparable from war. He did not mean to call them common places in the bad fense of the words, for they were truths fo familiar to the minds of men, that they were never listened to without affent; and, however unnecessary it might be to enforce them by eloquence, or amplify them by declamation, their being univerfally admitted was fufficient to prove, that war should never be undertaken when peace could be maintained without breach of public faith, tarnishing national honour, or risking future security. The causes of war with France were in no respect different now from what they were under the government of Louis XIV. or Louis XVI. then were these causes? not an insult or agression, but a refusal of fatisfaction when specifically demanded: what instance had Minifters produced of fuch demand and of fuch refufal? He admitted that the decree of November 19th entitled this country to require an explanation; but even of this they could not shew that any clear and specific explanation had been demanded. Security that they would not act upon that decree was indeed mentioned in one of Lord Grenville's letters, but what fecurity was neither specified, nor even named. The same might be said with respect to the opening of the Scheldt: the same respecting their conquest of Brabant. We complained of an attack on the

rights of our ally, we remonstrated against an accession of territory, alarming to Europe; but we proposed nothing that would be admitted as fatisfaction for the injury; we pointed out nothing that would remove our alarm. Lord Grenville faid fomething about withdrawing their troops from the Austrian Netherlands, but if by that was understood a requisition to withdraw their troops, while they were at war with the Emperor, without any condition that such evacuation of territory conquered from the enemy was to be the price of peace, it was such an insult as entitled them to demand fatisfaction of us. The fame argument applied to their conquest of Savoy from the King of Sardinia, with whom, in his opinion, they were at war as much as with the Would it be faid that it was our business only to Emperor. complain, and theirs to propose satisfaction? Common sense must fee that this was expecting too much from one independent power to another. By what clue could they discover what would fatisfy those who did not choose to tell with what they would be fatisfied? How could they judge of the too little or the too much? And was it not natural for them to suppose that complaints for which nothing was stated as adequate satisfaction, there was no disposition to withdraw? Yet on this the whole question of aggression hinged; for that the refusal of satisfaction, and not the infult, was the justifiable cause of war, was not merely his opinion, but the opinion of all the writers on the law of nations; and how could that be faid to have been refused which was never asked? He lamented, that at a time when the dearest interests of the country were at stake, the House should have felt so little concern as to deprive him of the opportunity of making the motion of which he had given notice, for want of a fufficient attendance to ballot for an Election Committee. By that motion he meant to press for a distinct and specific declaration of the causes of the war, and his success would have had this good effect, that both we and the enemy would have known the grounds of contest, been able to appreciate them, and the war might have been but of short duration. There was much in the decree by which the French declared war, which could not fairly be alleged as just cause of war. But under the former good government of France, was it unufual to crowd into a manifelto fetting forth the causes of war every complaint that could be imagined, good, bad, and indifferent? It were indeed to be wished that nothing were introduced into fuch declarations but what was at once true and important: but fuch had not yet been the practice of statesmen, who seemed more attentive to the number than the validity of their complaints. In 1779, the Spanish declaration was swelled to one hundred articles; and to examine every article of the prefent French declaration would only shew

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To have suffered Earl Gower to remain at Paris, after the 10th of August, would have implied no recognition of the government that succeeded that to which he had his formal mission, any more than to have negociated with that government in the most direct and safe way, in preference to the indirect and hazardous. But the Right Honourable Gentleman, who could not get rid of the idea of recognition, exclaimed, "Would you recognize a government which by its own confession is no government; which declares itself only provisional till a government can be framed?" This, he would answer, was the lafest of all recognitions, if a recognition it must be, for the government being only provisional, we could only be understood to recognize provisionally, and were at liberty to act as the case might require, with any other power that might arise in its stead. But did not history shew us, that to treat and to recognize were not considered as the same? Did not we treat with Philip of Spain, as king, at the very time that we were at war to dispute his succesfion? and was not the recognition of his title, far from being confidered as admitted by us on that account, actually flipulated as an article of the peace? Did not France, when at war to dispute the accession of William III. to the throne of England, treat with him as King? and was not the recognition of his title also made one of the conditions of peace? Still, however, he would admit, that withdrawing our minister, or not fending another, was not a just cause of war on the part of France; but could it be denied, that to treat one nation in a manner different from others was a symptom of hostility? The recalling of Ministers was certainly once confidered as an indication of war, for the commercial treaty provided for a case where no war was declared but by fuch recal. None of the alleged grounds in the French declaration could be more abfurd than that the circulation of their affignats was prohibited in this country, for that was purely a measure of internal regulation, as much as it would be to prohibit the circulation of paper iffued among ourselves that perhaps flood on not a much furer capital. But even here we were not quite impartial, for although that paper was called worth nothing which at prefent brought fourteen pence halfpenny for half a crown, the paper created by that gigantic act of fwindling. the affignats issued by the leaders of the combined armies, were not certainly worth more; but we had not thought it necessary to forbid the circulation of them; we had not prohibited the circulation of American paper even during the war, nor was it at all necessary, such paper wanted no prohibition. We had the right to prohibit it if we pleased, but he did not like affigning one

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reason for a thing when we evidently acted from another. Prohibiting the exportation of foreign corn to French ports, while it was free to other countries, it was faid, arose from preceding circumstances. According to these circumstances, it might be a justifiable or unjustifiable act of hostility, but it was an act of hostility so severe that the circumstances which justified it would have justified a war, and no such circumstances, as he had already proved, could be shewn. The Alien Bill was not a just cause of war, but it was a violation of the commercial treaty, both in the letter and the spirit. The Right Honourable Gentleman faid the French had made regulations in their own country by which the treaty was before completely broken and at an end. Did he complain of those regulations, for it was expressly provided by the treaty itself, that no violation should put an end to it till complaint was made, and redrefs refused. But here lay the important difference. The French made no regulations that put aliens on a different footing from Frenchmen. They made general regulations of fafety and police, as every nation had a right We made regulations affecting aliens only; confessed to be more particularly intended to apply to Frenchmen. It was admitted that the French defired an explanation of these regulations, and that an explanation was refused them. By us, therefore, and not by the French, was the commercial treaty broken. Our fending a fquadron to the Scheldt they complained of as an injury. And here the Right Honourable Gentleman introduced the popular topic of their charming operations in Belgium; the disturbance of which they thought themselves entitled to resent as an aggression. He was as little disposed to defend their operations in Belgium as the Right Honourable Gentleman, although he faw not for what purpose they were here alluded to, unless to inflame the passions, and mislead the judgment; but if by that fquadron we had diffurbed them in their operations of war against the Emperor, which he admitted we had not done, they would have had just cause to complain. Then, says the Right Honourable Gentleman, they complain of our conduct on the afflicting news of the murder of their King: what, shall we not grieve for the untimely fate of an innocent Monarch most cruelly put to death by his own subjects? shall we not be permitted to testify our forrow and abhorrence on an event that outrages every principle of justice, and shocks every feeling of humanity? Of that event he should never speak but with grief and detestation.

But was the expression of our forrow all. Was not the atrocious event made the subject of a message from his Majesty to both Houses of Parliament? and now he would ask the few more candid men who owned that they thought this event alone a sufficient

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a fufficient cause of war, What end could be gained by further negociation with Chauvelin, with Maret, or Dumourier? Did Ministers mean to barter the blood of this ill-fated Monarch for any of the points in dispute; to say the evacuation of Brabant shall atone for so much, the evacuation of Savoy for so much more? of this he would accuse no man; but on their principle, when the crime was committed, negociation must cease. He agreed, however, with the Right Honourable Gentleman, and he was glad to hear him fay to, that this crime was no cause of war; but if it were admitted, it was furely not decent that the subject of war should never be even mentioned without reverting to the death of the king. When he proposed sending an ambaffador to France, "What," faid the Right Hon. Gentleman, " fend an Ambassador to men that are trying their king!"-If we had fent an Ambassador, even then; had our conduct towards the French been more candid and conciliating, the fatal issue of that trial might have been prevented. But, said the Right Hon. Gentleman, we negociated unofficially. The importance to any wife purpose between official, and unofficial negociation, of this bartering instead of selling, he could never understand; but even to this mode of negociating the dismission of M. Chauvelin put an end. But M. Chauvelin went away the very day after he received the order, although he might have staid eight days and negociated all the while. Was it so extraordinary a thing that a man of honour, receiving such an order, should not choose to run the risk of insult, by staying the full time allowed him; or could he imagine that his ready compliance with fuch an order would be confidered as an offence? When M. Chauvelin went away and M. Maret did not think himself authorized to negociate, Ministers sent a Message to Lord Auckland, to negociate with General Dumourier, which reached him too late. Admitting this to be a proof of their with to negociate, while negociation was practicable, what was their conduct from the opening of the Session? If he or any of his friends proposed to negociate-" Negociate," they exclaimed, " we are already at war." Now it appeared that they did negociate with unaccredited agents, although the Secretary of State had faid fuch a negociation was not compatible with his belief, and last of all, strange conduct for lovers of peace! they ordered to quit the country the only person with whom they could negociate in their unofficial way. He was happy to fee the Right Honourable Gentleman fo much ashamed of this mutilated farce of negociation, as to be glad to piece it out with Lord Auckland, and General Dumourier. Then was asked the initerable question, "What interest have Ministers in promoting a war, if, as it has been faid, that the Ministers who begin war in this

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country are never allowed to conclude it?" Admitting this to be true, for which he faw no good reason, then surely they who endeavoured to avert a war, ought to be allowed some credit for the purity of their motives. But Ministers never opened a fair communication on the points in dispute with France. They acted like men afraid of asking satisfaction, for fear it should be granted—of stating the specific causes of war, lest they should lose the pretext. An opinion, somewhere stated, had been adverted to, that the people might confider this as a war in which kings were more interested than their subjects. He felt great respect for monarchy, and it was neither his practice nor his inclination to speak harshly of kings. He had already said, that monarchy was the corner, or rather the key-stone of the British Constitution, that is limited, not unlimited monarchy. But with all due reverence for crowned heads, was it impossible to conceive that kings may love, not limited, but unlimited monarchy; and that refistance to the limited monarchy attempted to be established in France, in the room of the unlimited monarchy, by which that country was formerly governed, might have been the true cause of the combination of some of the crowned heads of Europe? Our king had fat too long on the throne of a free kingdom; he had had too much experience that love of his people was a stronger defence than guards and armies, to forfeit that love, by transgressing the bounds which the Constitution prescribed to him, were even his virtues and his wisdom less than they were known to be. But had not kings the frailties of other men? Were they not liable to be ill-advised? What became of that freedom of speech which was the boast of Parliament, if he might not suppose, that by evil counsellors their ears might be poisoned, and their hearts deceived? He therefore feared, that this war would be supposed a war for restoring monarchy in France, and for supporting rather the cause of kings, than the cause of the people. He would be the last to draw a distinction of interest between the rich and the poor; for whatever the su-, perficial observer might think, nothing was clearer, when philosophically considered, than that a man, who was not immediately possessed of property, had as great an interest in the general protection and security of property, as he who was; and therefore he reprobated all those calls upon the particular exertions of men of property, as tending to excite the idea of an invidious distinction, which did not exist in fact. When the attack on France was called the cause of kings, it was not a very witty, but a sufficient reply, that opposing it might be called the cause of subjects. He imputed bad motives to no man, but when actions could not be explained on one motive, he had a right to attempt to explain them on another. If there were at present such a spirit in this country as in the beginning of the American war, what would

be our conduct? To join the combined powers in their war on the internal government of France. He was happy that the public abhorrence of a war on such a motive was so great, that the Right Honourable Gentleman felt himself called upon to disclaim it at great length; but how had Ministers acted? They had taken advantage of the folly of the French, they had negociated without proposing specific terms, and then broke off the negociation-At home they had alarmed the people that their own constitution was in danger, and they had made use of a melancholy event, which, however it might affect us as men, did not concern us as a nation, to inflame our passions and impel us to war; and now that we were at war, they durst not avow the causes of it, nor tell us on what terms peace might have been preferved. He rejoiced to hear that we had no treaty with the Emperor. If our motives were now suspected, he hoped our future conduct would be fuch as to put away suspicion. If we joined the Emperor and the King of Prussia, we must make a common cause with them, or act always with the jealoufy and fuspicion of parties, either of whom might secure their own views by a separate peace at the expence of the rest. When we found ourselves drawn into this common cause, we might say that we were forced to what we did not intend; but the fact would be, that we should be wasting the blood and treasure of the people of this country for an object which the people of this country disclaim—to enable foreign armies to frame a government for France. Such an instance would furnish more arguments against the mechanism of our Constitution, than all the writers who had fcrutinized its defects. He hoped we neither had nor should have any treaty with the combined powers, unless our objects were specifically stated—but what might be the moment of discussing these objects? the moment of danger and alarm, with the powerful engine, fear, influencing their decision. He understood, by the promise in his Majesty's Speech, of employing firm and temperate measures-he understood first, remonitrate on the causes of complaint, then a specific demand of fatisfaction, and an armament to give efficacy to both. On his hope of the first two he had voted for the third. The Right Honourable Gentleman faid we had received infults that ought not to have been borne for twenty-four hours. These were magnifying words. In the affair of Nootka Sound the aggression by Spain was as direct and unqualified as any that could be stated, and yet we had borne it for twenty-four days. Why was not the same course pursued now as then? He was now called upon. as a Member of that House, to support his Majesty in the war, for the war was begun, and he would do it; but he was not pledged to any of those crooked reasonings on which some Gen-3 I 2

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tlemen grounded their support of Ministers, nor less bound to watch them, because, by their misconduct, we had been forced into a war, which both the dignity and the fecurity of Great Britain would have been better confulted in avoiding. He was never fanguine on the fuccess of war. It might be glorious to our army and our navy, and yet ruinous to the people. event of the last campaign-procul absit omen and the example of the American war, had taught him that we might be compelled to make peace on terms less advantageous than could have been obtained without unsheathing the sword; and if this might be the consequence to us, the consequences to our ally, the Dutch, must be such as he would not suffer himself to anticipate. The ordering M. Chauvelin to depart the kingdom, and the stopping the exportation of corn to France, when exportation was allowed to other countries, were acts of hostility and provocation on our part, which did not allow us to fay, as the proposed Address said, that the war was an unprovoked aggreffion on the part of France. Truth and Justice were preferable to high founding words, and therefore he should move an amendment, containing nothing that was not strictly true, and in voting which the House might be unanimous.

He concluded by moving an amendment, viz. to leave out all the words after the word Message, and to substitute the following:

"That we learn with the utmost concern, that the Assembly who now exercise the Powers of Government in France, have directed the commission of acts of hostility against the persons and property of your Majesty's subjects, and that they have actually declared war against your Majesty, and the United We humbly beg leave to affure your Majesty, that your Majesty's faithful Commons will exert themselves with the ntmost zeal for the maintenance of the honour of your Majesty's Crown, and the vindication of the rights of your people, and that nothing shall be wanting on our part, that can contribute to that firm and effectual support which your Majesty has so much reason to expect, from a brave and loyal people, in repelling every hostile attempt against this country, and in such other exertions as may be necessary to induce France to consent to such terms of pacification, as may be confiftent with the honour of your Majesty's Crown, the security of your Allies, and the interest of your People."

Mr. SECRETARY DUNDAS faid, that he was certainly defirous of unanimity, but he could by no means agree to purchase it at the price of adopting the amendment proposed by the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Fox), which, under the appearance of affording support to the Executive Government, seemed

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totally to take away the idea of any real intentions to do fo. For what, he asked, was the tendency of that amendment, and of the arguments of the Right Hon. Gentleman? It was no other than this, that they must now fight because war was declared by France, but that they were about to engage in a war, unjust and unprovoked. Yet he seemed almost to admit, that the French had no justifiable cause for a declaration of war; for though he had made feveral observations on the recall of Lord Gower, the Alien Bill, and one or two other topics, he did not feem to consider them to be the just causes of war. The Right Hon. Gentleman, indeed, dwelt rather longer on the subject of the ships fent to the Scheldt, but whatever on that head might have been alleged on the part of France, Ministers were entitled to credit, when they folemnly afferted that that was done folely with the view to support our ally the Dutch, whom they were bound to defend, and with no view to diffurb the French in Belgia. With respect to the murder of the King, it had never been mentioned as affording a ground for war with France, though it furely afforded an illustration of the danger of French principles, and to what length they would go, if not fuccessfully The difmission of M. Chauvelin had been adverted to opposed. and blamed, as putting a stop to negociation; but the fact was, that M. Chauvelin was not dismissed till after he demanded to be received and acknowledged by this Court as accredited by the Republic; and therefore it was clear, that was not a measure whereby an end was put by us to conferences with unaccredited agents. As to the propriety or impropriety of refusing to acknowledge or receive an accredited Ambassador, he would not at present say any thing. Even after an embargo had been laid on our vessels by the French, his Majesty's Ministers had listened to the proposal of M. Dumourier, which had been mentioned by his Right Hon. Friend, and had fent instructions to Lord Auckland, to enter into a conference with him. The claim of reasoning made use of by the Right Hon. Gentleman in the subsequent part of his speech, appeared to him most extraordinary; for it seemed to be so managed, as to leave him an opportunity afterwards of attributing the cause of the war to a wish to interfere in the polity of France. By aggression, the Right Hon. Gentleman, Mr. Dundas observed, had said, you provoke France to war, and in the progress of that war you may contrive to ascribe it to a different cause from what is at present held forth. We complain of the Decree of the 19th of November, and of the Declaration respecting the Scheldt. murder of the King of France is, no doubt, another ground of complaint, though we do not confider it as a cause of war.

We complain also of the addresses from societies in this country being received in the manner they were by the Convention. These causes of complaint would not surely be attributed to Minifters, nor would any person suppose that Barlow and Frost were fent by them to Paris. It has been urged in explanation of the decree of the 19th of November, that France only offered her affistance and fraternity when the whole country had agreed, in which case any affistance from them would be unnecessary; but at any rate they referve to themselves the power of judging when they will join an infurrection in any foreign country, the dangerous consequences of which must be apparent. Their anfwer on the business of the Scheldt is, that at the end of the war they would leave the Belgians and Dutch to fettle the matter betwixt themselves.-Was that a way of talking on a matter solemnly fettled and guaranteed by various existing treaties? But when were they to leave the matter to be fettled by the Belgians? They are to do fo, they fay, whenever the Belgians shall have consolidated their liberty; that is, when, under the influence of the French arms, they shall have adopted a constitution on the principles of their supposed liberty; or, in other words, when they have in fact become subject to France. That explanation the French had given as their ultimatum.—M. Chauvelin, prior to his dismission, had demanded to be received as accredited from the republic. He had formerly been received as the Ambaffador of the murdered King; he had been treated with all proper respect. Whether, after the commission of that atrocious act, he could have been allowed to remain, and received as accredited from the republic, he would leave to the feelings of Gentlemen to determine. It had been faid, that this was a war without an object, and that it was unjust and unnecessary. In answer to this, he would beg leave to refer to a paper delivered by Lord Grenville to M. Chauvelin, in which, after stating certain matters which had given cause of offence to this country, a requisition is made, in the most distinct and precise terms, that France should renounce all views of aggrandifement -should confine herself within her own territories, and should defift from violating the rights of other nations. France has now made a declaration of war, and proceeded to hostilities against this country, without any offence on our part, and without previous notice. As to the supposed treaty with the Emperor which had been talked of; although he had formerly stated that there was no fuch treaty existing in January, he hoped he would not be fo far mifunderstood as to lead to a supposition that his Majesty's Ministers would not now endeavour to bring down every power on earth to affift them against France. Upon the subject of the proclamation prohibiting the fending corn to France,

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France, he had been correct in his former statement, which was a necessary measure of precaution for the purpose of crippling the French. He concluding with expressing his disapprobation of the amendment, which he considered not as innocent, but as extremely mischievous, by withholding the approbation of the House in the present criss to the measures of government; and he therefore gave his most hearty affent to the Address.

Mr. FOX explained.

Mr. BURKE began a speech of two hours and a half (comprehending a vast variety of matter, chiefly relating to the proceedings, principles, and views of the French) with declaring, that, in his opinion, his Majesty's Ministers had clearly and explicitly justified their own conduct. The Right Honourable Gentleman on the same bench with him, who moved the amendment to the Address, in framing his motion, seemed to get into the situation which all those must do who wish apparently to reconcile what is essentially contradictory:—it had, indeed, the appearance of a stratagem;—he would vote an Address, enabling the Executive Government to carry on war, although

he did not approve the conduct of Ministers.

The Right Honourable Gentleman had on a former occasion lamented the smallness of his party, and it now seemed as if that party endeavoured to make amends for the smallness of their numbers by the discordance of their voices. He imagined some of them would find it difficult to account for their conduct in opposing the measures of Ministers on the present critical occafion. In their censures on France Gentlemen had shewn a great deal of dexterity; but it certainly had too much the appearance The Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Fox) had complained of the misrepresentation of his expressions in that House—to him it appeared very extraordinary how a person of talents fo clear, fo powerful, and fo perspicuous, could possibly be mifunderstood—how a person who took so much pains by repetition, and going over the fame grounds again and again, to bring his superior powers to the low level of the vulgar eye, could possibly be subject to misrepresentation; how a Gentleman, whose friends out of doors neglected no human art to display his talents to their utmost advantage, and to detail his speeches to the public in fuch a manner, that he, though a close observer of the Right Honourable Gentleman, had never been able to recollect a lingle idea of his that escaped the industrious attention of his friends to disclose to the public, while those of a Right Honourable Friend of his (Mr. Wyndham), whose abilities were equal to his virtues, were fo mangled and fo confused in the reports that were made of them, as to be utterly unintelligible to the public. But that the Right Honourable Gentleman should be misrepresented

To this he would fay, that if the cause of France was

misrepresented or misunderstood, under such favourable circum-

stances, was hard indeed. The Right Honourable Gentleman

had faid, that he hoped he was not reputed an advocate for

an honest cause, it was justice to this country, and to mankind.

to undertake her defence. The true skill of an advocate was, to

put forward the strong part of his client's case, and gloss over or

hide the weak ; to exhibit all its right in the brightest point of

wiew, and palliate the wrong; when he could no longer palliate.

to contrive that the punishment should be as slight as possible, or

to bring his writ of error, and by every quirk evade it as well as

he could; and no man possessed that power in a greater degree

than the Right Honourable Gentleman. To his speeches he

always attended with admiration and respect; that which he had

just heard on the present occasion he could not help estimating

at a less account, as he had read every part of it in Mons. Bris-

sot's speeches in the National Convention, one part only ex-

cepted, and that part was, " that France had used every means

Right Honourable Gentleman had taken great pains to acquit

himself, and apologize for his vehement endeavours to exculpate

France from the charge of aggression; he professed that he was

almost at a loss to see what it was that made him so prompt to

to conciliate the regards and good-will of Great Britain."

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exculpation. If France meant nothing but what was good, and England nothing but what was bad, he certainly owed no apology for the part he took in her cause. But to take the Right Honourable Gentleman's speech in a serious view, it infinuated that the charge of the French was, That the King of Great Britain had brought on, or determined on war against the sense of his Ministers, against the sense of the Parliament, and against the sense of the people, in order to augment his own power. If this was the case, Ministers had betrayed their country by their acquiescence, and it was the duty of the House to address the King to remove them, and put into their place those whom they thought more fit for advice, more fit to do the duty of a Minister, and more likely to possess the confidence of the nation, if such there The Right Honourable Gentleman had contended, that when Ministers brought the nation into war, they should declare how they intended to profecute it; to what degree they intended to carry it, and what the object of it was. For his part, he had never heard or read of any fuch principle in theory, or of any such practice. The first question he conceived to be, whether there was just cause or foundation for the war? The second, how it should be carried on to the greatest effect? He said, that in no instance whatever, had any power, at the commencement

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of a war, declared what period was intended to end it, what means to carry it on, or what the object of it was. It was contrary to the policy of this and every other country; it was never heard of. In this, and in every case of the kind, the common object of the alliance should be pursued to gain the grand end. War had been declared by the French, but they had not declared that they did not intend the ruin, the destruction, and total subversion of this country, and every establishment in it. Was it pretended that they had done, in declaring war, that which Gentlemen had prescribed as the duty of this country? No, they declared war with the professed intention to bring it in the most formidable shape, attended with insurrection and anarchy, into the bowels of this country, to strike at the head of the Stadtholder, and to put no limits to their views in the war; while Gentlemen would have Britain cramped and tied by a premature declaration of her object. As to the fentiments of the Right Honourable Gentleman respecting the declaration of a specific object of the war, as well as the delicacy of interfering in the internal government of France, were they adopted by the House, this should be their language: " France! you have endeavoured to destroy the repose of all the countries in Europe, and particularly of England; you have reduced your own country to anarchy and ruin, and murdered your King; nevertheless, you may be affured, that, however horrible your crimes, though to the murder of your King you should add that of his infant son, his unfortunate Queen and fifter, and the whole remains of his family, not one hair of your heads shall be hurt, you may war against us, threaten us with destruction, and bring ruin to our very doors, yet shall you not be injured." Was ever, he exclaimed, such a declaration made in fuch circumstances? Much pains had been taken by the Right Honourable Gentleman to make light of the power of France, and to perfuade the House, that there was nothing to be feared from it. He would answer this, by shewing what the Right Honourable Gentleman had faid on a former occasion-Here he began to read a part of a speech spoken by Mr. Fox on the Commercial Treaty, strongly demonstrative of the necessity of keeping down the overgrown power of France-

The SPEAKER called Mr. Burke to order, it being difer-

derly to read any debate on a former occasion.

Mr. Burke faid, he would beg leave to read from a pamphlet in his hand. The House called, read, read! Here he read from a speech of Mr. Fox's, that the effect of all our wars had been carried on with a view to repress the growth of France, and to support all the other powers of Europe against her; that France 3 K only

only changed her means, but that her ends were ever the

The SPEAKER again interrupted Mr. Burke, and requested that he would abstain from reading, as he knew it was against

the order of the House.

Mr. Burke faid, he could not but lament, that the rules of the House sometimes weakened the force of argument; but he confidered order to be fo far more necessary than argument, that he would willingly forego the latter to maintain the former. To return therefore to his argument, without the conclusive aid he should derive from the Gentleman's own language, in the book in his hand, he contended that the whole body of the policy of this country for ages was, that whatever country was the enemy of France was naturally the ally of Great Britain. If that opinion was founded in true policy before the Revolution, "let us try, faid he, what reason there is to alter that opinion since." If the new Republic have shewn no disposition to increase her dominions; if the has not annexed Savoy, Avignon, Liege, and Nice, &c. to her territorial possessions; if she has not declared war against all subsisting governments, and conficated the properties of all corporations; if she had not held out the mask of confraternity as a fignal and temptation to rebellion in all countries, but particularly in England, then Statesmen have a right to change their opinions and fystems of policy with respect to her.

Unlimited monarchy, the Right Honourable Gentleman had faid, was the object against which France directed the shafts of enmity. But he would be glad to know, whether Gentlemen would pretend to fay, that she was a friend to limited monarchy. No; she was an enemy to limited monarchy, as monarchy, and to the limitation, as limitation. The aristocracy of this country, all corporations, all bodies, whether civil or ecclefiaftic, were the objects of her enmity. She shewed the most determinate malice, in the most express terms, against all parts of the British government, equally to those that limit or support monarchy; not to this or to that, but to the whole. If conquered by Louis XVI. we might be fure of our established forms being unmolested, but if by her, of total extinction. Gentlemen had with much pertinacity asked, "have you asked satisfaction for this?" This, he contended, was all an error, either of milconception or of will. The acts of France were acts of hostility to this country; her whole system, every speech, every decree, and every act, bespoke an intention preclusive of accommodation. No man, he would venture to fay, had a more lively fense of the importance of the question before the House, or of the evils

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of war, than himself; a war with France, under such circumstances as now governed her conduct, must be terrible, but peace much more so. A nation that had abandoned all its valuable distinctions, arts, sciences, religion, law, order, every thing but the sword, was most formidable and dreadful to all nations composed of citizens who only used soldiers as a defence, as such France should be resisted with spirit, vigour, and temper; without fear or scruple. In a case of such importance to this country, and to mankind, as the present, Gentlemen should examine whether they had any finister motive, as if in the Divine Presence, and act upon the pure result of that examination. He declared, he had no hesitation to pronounce, as if before that presence, the Ministers had not precipitated the nation into a war, but were brought to it by overruling necessity.

" I possess, said he, as deep a sense of the severe inflictions of

war as any man can possibly do-

" Trembling I touch it, but with honeft heart."

I always held it as one of the last of evils, and wish only to adopt it now from the conviction that at no diffant period we should be obliged to encounter it at much greater disadvantage. For four years past it has grieved me to the foul, it almost reduced me to death, when I observed how things were going on, and felt my utmost exertions unable to produce upon the government of the country, or in the public mind, the danger that approached At length the infatuation was removed-Ministers awoke to the peril that menaced them ere it was too late; and our enemies finding those arts fail in which they so much confided, are reduced to attack us in open war, and have declared against us." He should therefore give them his clear, steady, uniform, unequivocal support; not, as some Gentlemen did, pretend support on one day, to leffen their authority, impair their power, and obstruct their plans on another; but in the fullest manner he could. If any charge was to be laid to the share of Ministers, it was that of too long delay; but if from that delay any accident should arise from want of timely preparation, he would acquit them of it, knowing as he did, that it was not possible for them. with prudence, to do otherwise. For had they done it at an earlier period, they would not have been supported. In his oppolition to the views and proceedings of France for two years, he was convinced he had not the feelings of the nation; nor was it till full blown mischief had alarmed the people, and roused the King, that the government could have had a proper support. For his part, he thought himself bound in honour to support Ministers; and, if bound to support them, certainly to oppose those who acted aversely to them. From such men, men who 3 K 2

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could neither vindicate the principles, nor deny the power of France, yet impeded the measures taken to secure us against that power, he differed fundamentally and effentially, in every principle of morals, in every principle of manners, in fentiment, in disposition, and in taste. France, he said, had for some time been in a continual feries of hostile acts against this country, both external and internal; first, it directed its pursuits to uniyerfal empire, under the name of fraternity, to overturn the fabric of our laws and government; next, it invented a new law of nations, subsidiary to that intention; then acted on that law. Next, it had directed the principal operations of that law to Great Britain; and lastly, established a horrible tyranny within herself; chased every honest person out of it, held out temptations the most seductive to the unenlightened lower order of all countries, and furnished inftruments for the overthrow of their government, The putting the King of France to death was done, not as an example to France, not to extinguish the race, not to put an end to monarchy, but as a terror to monarchs, and particularly to the monarch of Great Britain. This new created empire of theirs, Mr. Burke faid, was only secondary to the accomplishment of their plans of shaking all governments. This had been professed out of the mouth of their minister Cambon. He declared, that the limits of their empire should be those that nature had fet to them, not those of justice and reason; that is to say, the sea on one side, and the Alps and the Rhine on the other, together with a large cut of the Appenines, and all for the benefit of mankind, of liberty and equality. Should we be deterred by our wealth from refifting these outrages? They directed their invectives and reproaches more at England than any other place. They executed their unhappy innocent Monarch, whom they well knew to be no tyrant, principally, as they alledged, for a warning to all other tyrants, and an example to all other Even a few hours after the execution of Louis XVI. their minister of justice, Garat, addressing the Convention, said, "WE HAVE NOW THROWN DOWN THE GAUNTLET TO A TYRANT, WHICH GAUNTLET IS THE HEAD OF A TYRANT." He next read the declaration of the Members who voted for the death of the King, some saying-" The Tree of Liberty could not flourish till sprinkled with the blood of Tyrants;" others declaring, "That Kings were no longer useful, but in their

Gentlemen had faid, that if Lord Gower had been left at Paris, or another Ambassador had been sent in his place, the unhappy fate of the King of France might have been prevented. This, he said, was answered by the sate of the King of Spain's Ambassador, who had made, at the desire of his Court,

a requisition,

a requisition, but was refused. The murder of the King was intended only as a step to the murder of other Kings of Europe, for they had declared that no monarchical country could have alliance with them: this too at the very moment that they were affecting to conciliate and explain away the Decree of the 19th of November. War with the chatteau, and peace with the cottage, was the plan of their new fystem; wherever their power extended, they put the poor to judge upon the life and property of the rich, they formed a Corps of Defertion, a Corps of Affaffination, and gave a pension to the wife and children of the affaffin that was put to death for attempting to murder the King They declared all treaties with despots void, they were outlaws of humanity, and uncommunicable people, who acknowledged no God but the facred right of insurrection; nor any law but the fovereignty of the people; nor had any judges but Sans Culottes, whom they made arbiters of the lives and properties of all. As to the rights of the poor, he hoped he understood them as well as the Right Honourable Gentleman; the riches of the rich were held in trust for the poor, this the common people little understood, nor could they be made to understand it, if people held out false communications to corrupt them. Here he read a part of a letter from Dumourier, General of the Barebreeched Corps, to Anacharsis Cloots, Orator of the Naked Posteriors; in this letter, after describing the bleffings of Atheism, and that which he called Liberty, he says, "These are the fweets of philosophy! What pity it is that bayonets and cannon are the necessary means of propagating it." Atheism, he said, was the centre from which ran out all their mischiefs and villanies, and they proceed to establish it with the fword.

He readily allowed that this was the most dangerous war we were ever engaged in—that we were to contend with a fet of men now inured to warfare, and led on by enthusiasm and the ardour of conquest to such a degree, that they bartered the arts. commerce, industry, manufactures, and civilization itself for the fword. The alliances we may form, give however a good profpect of fubduing them; whereas, were they allowed to proceed, we may fingly and in the end become their eafy prey. Our riches would be no impediment to us; provided we used them properly, they would more benefit than injure us in war, provided that, in the time of danger, we were more industrious to fecure than to enjoy them. He then recited a variety of instances in which the French manifested the most envious and malignant disposition towards this country, and left no effort untried to do it every possible mischief. He read from the Moniteur of M. Condorcet an account of the meeting of the "English Friends of the People in Paris—their Address to the National

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Convention, with their 'fraternal' reception, and their toasts after dinner. Of the latter, one was, the health of Citizens Fox, Mackintosh, Sheridan, Paine, Barlow, and the other Friends of Liberty who enlightened the people of England." Should we be deterred by our wealth from refifting these outrages! What, exclaimed he, shall we live in a temporary abject state of timid eafe, to fatten ourselves like swine to be killed to-morrow, and to become the easier and better prey? No; God forbid! if we have the spirit that has ever distinguished Britons, that very wealth will be our strength, with which we shall be more than a match for their blind fury. With regard to the means the French have of earrying on the war, the plan of supply they had proposed was worthy of attention. Their Minister stated, that the country had been purged of 70,000 men of property, all of whose effects were to be confiscated, to the amount of 200 millions sterling. Thus, like a band of robbers in a cave, they were reckoning the strength of their plunders. He said, that they had two terms for raifing supplies-Confiscation and Loan —The common people were relieved by confifcation of the property of the rich; and they reckoned on the confication of property in every country they entered, with the brotherly intent of fraternizing, as a sufficient supply for their exigencies in that country, and their resource for making war; thus they made war fupply them with plunder, and plunder with the means of war. The Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Fox) had spoken with some asperity of an intention in Ministers to restore the ancient government. He would not compare that government with the government of Great Britain; but certain it was, that it would be felicity and comfort, compared to the present state of tyranny exercised in France; for the very same papers out of which he had read the extracts before, contained the melancholy account that 30,000 manufacturers were perishing for want, in Lyons alone. Thus their enormities have produced mifery; their mifery will drive them to despair; and out of that despair they will look for a remedy in the destruction of all other countries, and particularly that of Great Britain.

Mr. SHERIDAN began with faying, that in one circumstance alone in the present debate, he selt himself actuated by feelings and motives similar to those professed by the Honourable Member.—The Honourable Gentleman had declared that he did not speak to support the Minister, for his case had been so perfectly made out by himself that it needed no support; but that he role solely to repel the infinuations and charges of his Right Honourable Friend (Mr. Fox), so he (Mr. S.) could sincerely declare that he had no thoughts of attempting to give additional weight to the arguments by which his Right Honourable Friend had, in

his judgment, refuted those of the Minister.—He was provoked to rife folely by the infinuations and charges of the last speaker against his Right Honourable Friend. Never had he before indulged himself in such a latitude of ungoverned bitterness and spleen towards the man he still occasionally professed so much to respect.-His ridicule of the smallness of the number of friends left to the object of his persecution ill became him of all mankind; but he trusted, that, however small that number was, there ever would be found among them men not afraid upon fuch a fubject to oppose truth and temper to passion and declamation, however eloquently urged, or however clamourously applauded.

They were styled by the Honourable Gentleman a phalanx. and he styled the amendment of his Honourable Friend a stratagem to keep this phalanx together, who had been otherwise, it feems, endeavouring to make up for the smallness of their numbers by the contrariety of their opinions, an odd description of a phalanx; no, he would never have given them that appellation, if he had not known the contrary of this to be the truth. He knew well their title to the character he had given them, and that a phalanx, whatever its extent, must consult of a united band, acting in a body, animated by one foul, and pursuing its object with identity of spirit, and unity of effort.—His Honourable Friend's purpose then, in this amendment, must have been, as he had stated it himself, to reconcile those differences of opinion in other quarters to which he had expressly alluded, and not those which existed no where but in the imagmation of the man who, he believed, had at least exhausted all power of splitting or dividing farther. But what suggested to him it must be a stratagem of his Honourable Friend's? Was he a man prone to firatagems? at any other time he would trust to bis candour even for an answer-for if ever there was a man who disdained stratagems by nature, who knew how to distinguish between craft and wildom, between crookedness and policy, who loved the straight path, and fometimes even without looking to the end, because it was straight, it was the very person whom he now arraigns for craft and trick.

The next object of his farcasm was, his Honourable Friend's complaining of being so often misrepresented—" Pity," says the Honourable Member, "that a Gentleman who expresses himfelf fo clearly, and who repeats fo much, should be liable to be mitapprehended." A pity, certainly, but not much to be wondered at, when misapprehension was wilful, and misrepresentation useful. The Honourable Member had only mistaken his own facility in perverting, for his antagonist's difficulty in explaining. But another grievance was, that, however mifunderstood in that House, these same speeches were detailed with great distinctness

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and care in the public prints, while those of an Honourable Friend near him (Mr. Wyndham) were, as he declared, perfectly mangled and misrepresented. There was no stratagem to be fure in this infinuation, but was there much candour in it? Did any one living know better than he who made the infinuation, that nothing could exceed the carelessness of his Honourable Friend (Mr. Fox) to the representation of his speeches out of doors; he believed he had never feen, touched, revised, or printed, a fingle line he had spoken in Parliament in his life, or caused it to be done for him. If either friends or judicious editors were the more attentive to the task, he thought they did credit to themselves, and an important service to the Public at large. Not less uncandid was it to infinuate a purposed misreprefentation of another Member (Mr. Wyndham's) speeches. He claimed as long and as intimate a friendship with that Gentleman as the Right Honourable Member who appeared fo tremblingly alive for his fame; he thought equally highly of him in many respects: but he must in the frankness of friendship take the liberty of faying, that though no man had more information to ground argument upon, more wit to adorn that argument, or logic to support it, yet that the faculty, which had been rather fneered at in his Honourable Friend, namely, that of rendering himself perfectly perspicuous and intelligible to every capacity, was not the diftinguishing characteristic of that Gentleman's eloquence. He was apt sometimes to spin a little too fine, and therefore it was possible, without any corrupt partiality on the part of the Reporters of the Debates, that his Honourable Friend's (Mr. Fox's) speeches might be given with a superior degree of perspicuity.

Mr. Sheridan now proceeded to discuss seriatim Mr. B.'s other remarks on Mr. Fox—he was charged with a dereliction of principle in having that day omitted to express his apprehension of the increase of French power, be the French government what it may—certainly Mr. Fox had not faid one word upon that fubject in his speech that day, but had he not in every one of his various previous speeches in this session distinctly and most forcibly avowed and urged his fentiments on that head? How pleasant to observe a gentleman, who begins his speech with taunting his Hon. Friend for repeating things too often, reproach him in the next fentence for avoiding a repetition the most unnecessary he could have fallen into! but if the reproach was on that ground extraordinary, it was still more extraordinary that the general observation itself should come from the quarter from which it proceeded!—a dread of France it seemed ought to be a fundamental principle in the mind of a British statesman, no alteration in her government can change this principle, or ought to suspend this apprehension

-and who was the gentleman fo tenacious of this creed?-The only man in all England who had held the directly contrary doctrine; had he or could we have forgot that in his very fift contemptuous revilings at their revolution, only in the last fessions of Parliament, he had expressly scorned and insulted them as a nation extinguished for ever, and to be feared no more, and all in consequence of the change in their government; that he described the country as a gap and chasm in Europe. Their principles had done more, faid he, than a thousand fields like Blenheim or Ramillies could have effected against themhad they even got power by their crimes, like the usurpation of Cromwell, he could have respected or seared them at least, but they were blotted out of the European map of power for ever! And the historian had only to record " Gallos olim bello floriusse:" yet this very gentleman, faid Mr. Sheridan, having last year expressed all this with as much heat as he had this year expressed the contrary fentiment, arraigns my Honourable Friend for having omitted to re-echo for a fingle hour his unalterable apprehensions of the power of France, be the changes of its government what they may.

It was still more curious to observe the particular manner of attempting to charge this circumstance on his Honourable Friend. A book was produced, and he was proceeding to read a former speech of his (Mr. Fox's), as if he had ever once retracted his opinion on this subject. When the Speaker called him to order, the Honourable Gentleman did not feem to take the interruption kindly, though certainly he ought to have been grateful for it; for never, fure, was man, who had a greater interest in discouraging the practice of contrasting the past and present speeches, principles, and professions of any public man. Was the Hon Gentleman ready to invite such a discussion respecting himself? If he were, and his confiftency could be matter of regular queftion in that House, he did not scruple to affert that there was scarcely an iota of his new principles to which there was not a recorded contradiction in his former professions. Let a set of his works be produced—one Member might read, paragraph by paragraph, his present doctrines, and another should refute every fyllable of them out of the preceding ones - it was a confolation to those who differed from his new principles to know where to

refort for the best antidote to them.

His next accusation against the mover of the amendment was, that he should have put the question on so mean an issue, as whether the actual hostile overt acts committed by France, had been sufficiently explained and dissumed to this country.—This it seemed was contemptible, it was a war against the principles of the French Government we were to engage in, and not on ac-

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count of their petty aggressions against us; and therefore it followed, that it was to be a war to exterminate either them or their principles. The doctrine he thought both wild and detestable—but admitting that it was right, the Honourable Gentleman must yet extend his scorn and his rebuke to the Minister, as well as to Mr. Fox, for though they differed in their conclusion, they had discussed the grounds of the war precisely on the same principle and sooting. The Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Burke) differed equally from both, or more rather from the Minister, with respect to the professed motives and objects of the war, than from those who opposed the war. In this view he thought it most unmanly and unwarranted in the Minister to sit still and listen to these instammatory rants, and even to cheer the war song of this Honourable Gentleman,

Æra ciere viros marteraque accendere cantu,

when at the fame moment he knew, and had even just declared, that the war was undertaken upon principles, and for purposes diametrically opposite to those upon which he suffered the House to be heated and misled by a spirit of vengeance and quinotism,

which it was his duty to oppose and restrain.

With the fame persevering purpose of inflaming and misleading, the Right Hon. Gentleman had read so much from the cruel and unjust proceedings against the late unfortunate Monarch, and from various other French publications. This habit of picking out all the hot, wrong-headed, and disgusting things, faid or written by individuals in France, would never be so constantly resorted to for a fair purpose. The compilation on this principle, avowed by the Treasury, and so often quoted by the Hon. Member, was an unworthy expedient, particularly, as it had been done at a time when we still professed our hope and defire of peace. What if a conduct like this had been purfued in France. If, when the Convention came to deliberate on war and peace, and to decide on the provocations alleged to have been given by our Government, pamphlets had been given to the Members at the door of the Convention, containing extracts from all the various speeches of that Right Hon. Gentleman fince the first revolution—containing, in appearance, every thing that the scorn of pride, the frenzy of passion, and the bitterness of malice, could have urged against them, from the very outset; and assuming the applause of his hearers, to be the will of the government, and to speak the voice of the people? If to these had been added every furious and indecent paragraph that had appeared in our publications, and especially in prints connected with administration, what would have been our opinion of fuch a proceeding at fuch a time? And what our indignation

if we learned that this had not been a work hatched in the dens and caverns of favage murderers and foes to peace, but that it had been produced under the direction of the Executive Council itfelf, and at the very moment that they were professing their desire of avoiding hostilities with us, and of promoting a good understanding? The Honourable Member would have been among the first to have quoted such a conduct in them as a new

proof of mean hypocrify and determined malice.

The address and toasts of an idle dinner of English and others at White's in Paris, was the next subject of the Hon. Member's alarm and invective. And to aggravate the horror of this meeting, the House was affured, that at it were drank the healths of Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan. The infinuation was fcarcely worth noticing, nor should he have adverted to it, but just to shew how well entitled the Hon. Gentleman was to the credit he claimed for the accuracy of his facts and information. This anecdote wanted only one little ingredient to produce possibly some effect, namely, fact. The truth was, that neither his nor Mr. Fox's health were drank at that meeting; and it was a little unlucky that the Honourable Gentleman, who ranfacked every corner of every French paper for any thing that would make for his purpose, should have overlooked a formal contradiction of fuch toasts having been given, inserted by authority in the Patriot Francois; and it was the more unlucky, as the purpose of bringing forward this important anecdote was evidently to infinuate that they were in Paris at least considered as republicans; while the actual reason given for not drinking their healths was that, though friends to the reform of abuses, they were considered as expressly against all idea of revolution in England, and known to be attached to the form of the existing constitution.

The next specimen of the Honourable Member's extreme nicety with respect to facts, was the manner in which he proved the enormous ambition of France, by the Convention's having adopted a proposition of the Minister of Justice, Danton, that the future boundaries should be the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the Ocean; and great stress was laid upon this proposal having been made by a person of such high rank in the state.—Now for the fact—Danton was not the Minister of Justice, and the proposition was not adopted by the Convention. The Honourable Gentleman might have recollected, that, if Danton had been Minister of Justice, he could not have been a Member of the Convention;—and he ought also to have known that the proposition, so far from having been adopted, was scarcely attended to. But the ambition of France, and her aggressions against this country, were not, according the Honourable Member, the only causes of war—Religion demanded that

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we should avenge her cause-Atheism was avowed and professed in France. As an argument to the feelings and paffions of men. Mr. Sheridan faid, that the Honourable Member had great advantages in dwelling on this topic; because it was a subject upon which those who disliked everything that had the air of cant or of profession on the one hand, or of indifference on the other, found it awkward to meddle with. Establishments, tests, and matters of that nature, were proper objects of political discussion in that House; but not general charges of deism or atheism, as pressed to their confideration by the Honourable Gentleman-thus far he would fay, and it was an opinion that he had never changed or concealed, that although no man can command his conviction, he had ever confidered a deliberate disposition to make profelytes in infidelity as an unaccountable depravity of heart. Whoever attempted to pluck the belief or the prejudice on this fubject, style it which he would, from the bosom of one man, woman, or child, committed a brutal outrage, the motive for which he had never been able to conceive or trace. But on what ground was all this infidelity and atheifm to be laid to the account of the revolution? The philosophers had corrupted and perverted the minds of the people; but when did the precepts or perversions of philosophy ever begin their effect on the root of the tree, and afterwards rife to the towering branches? Were the common and ignorant people ever the first disciples of philosophy, and did they make profelytes of the higher and more enlightened orders? Mr. Sheridan pressed this at considerable length, contending that the general atheism of France was, in the first place, no honour to the exertions of the higher orders of the clergy against the philosophers—and, in the next place, that it was notorious that all the men and women of rank and fashion in France, including possibly all the present emigrant nobility, whose piety the Honourable Gentleman had seemed to contrast with republican infidelity, were the genuine and zealous followers of Voltaire and Rousseau; and if the lower orders had been afterwards perverted, it was by their precept and by their example. The atheism, therefore, of the new system, as opposed to the piety of the old, was one of the weakest arguments he had yet heard in favour of this mad political and religious crusade.

Mr. Sheridan now adverted to Mr. Burke's regret that we had not already formed an alliance with the Emperor, and to Mr. Dundas's declaration that he hoped that we should ally with every power in Europe against the French—this appeared to him to contradict Mr. Pitt's declaration, and it was the most unpleafant intelligence that he had heard that day. If we made such alliances our principles and our purposes would soon become the same;

chains

fame; we took the field against the excesses and licentiousness of liberty, they against liberty itself. The effect of a real co-opera. tion would be a more fatal revolution than even prejudice could paint that of France, a revolution in the political morals of England, and in consequence the downfall of that freedom which was the true foundation of the power, the prosperity, and the glory of the British nation. Sooner than entwine ourselves in fuch alliances, and pledge the treasure and blood of the country to such purposes, he had almost said he had rather see England fight France fingle-handed. He feared the enemy less than our allies. He disliked the cause of war, but abhorred the company we were to fight in still more. He had a claim to call on the Hon. Gentleman to join him in these principles; who were these allies, and what had been their conduct? Had he (Mr. Burke) forgot his character of the Polish revolution? " That glorious event had bettered the condition of every man there, from the prince to the peafant, which had refcued millions, not from political flavery, but from actual chains and even personal bondage." Who had marred this lovely prospect and massacred the fairest offspring of virtue, truth, and valour? Who had hypocritically first approved the revolution and its purposes, and had now marched troops to stifle the groans of those who dared even to murmur at its destruction? These allies-these chosen affociates and bosom counsellors in the future efforts of this deluded nation. Could the Hon. Gentleman palliate these things? No. But had he ever arraigned them? Why had he never come to brandish in that House a Russian dagger red in the heart's blood of the free constitution of Poland?-No, not a word, not a figh, not an ejaculation for the destruction of all he had held up to the world as a model for reverence and imitation! In his heart is a record of brass for every error and excess of liberty, but on his tongue is a sponge to blot out the foulest crimes and blackest treacheries of despotism.

Mr. Sheridan next argued on an observation of an Honourable Member's (Mr. Percy Wyndham), who had said, that we refused to make any allowance for the novelty of the fituation in which France stood after the destruction of its old arbitrary government. This Mr. Sheridan pressed very forcibly—insisting that it was a mean and narrow way of viewing the subject, to ascribe the various outrages in France to any other cause than this unalterable truth, that a despotic government degrades and depraves human nature, and renders its subjects, on the first recovery of their rights, unfit for the exercise of them. But was the inference to be, that those who had been long slaves ought therefore to remain so for ever, because, in the first wildness and strangeness of liberty, they would probably dash their broken

chains almost to the present injury of themselves, and of all those who were near them? No; the lesson ought to be a tenfold horror of the despotism which had so profaned and changed the nature of social man; and a more jealous apprehension of withholding rights and liberty from our fellow creatures, because in so doing we risked and became responsible for the bitter consequences: for, after all, no precautions of fraud or of crast can suppress or alter this eternal truth, that liberty is the birthright of man, and whatever opposes his possession is a facrilegious usurpation.—Mr. Sheridan concluded with adverting to the evident intention of the minister to render unanimity impossible, but said he should never retract his former declaration; that the war once entered into, he should look to nothing but the defence of the country and its interests, and therefore give it a sin-

cere and steady support.

Mr. DUDLEY RYDER begged to remind the House, that they were now actually at war; that it did not lie with them to argue about it, for they were forced into it. The question was fimply, whether they should support his Majesty in his honourable intention of maintaining the dignity of his crown, and the interests of the empire. The declared purpose of the amendment was to procure unanimity. Certainly unanimity was a defirable thing; but he did not covet much the fort of unanimity which the amendment was calculated to produce. He wanted only an unanimous expression of firmness in opposing the French, not a tame unanimity which promifed no effential support.-The nation was unanimous; more perfect affent was never given to any war. The atrocious event in France had awakened the feelings and united the hearts of all the English people. That event, however, it was to be deplored, might be faid to have been fo far beneficial as it had thus aroused the genuine feelings of Englishmen, and had opened their eyes to the true enormity of the French principles.

Mr. JAMES GRENVILLE said he would not trouble the House at so late an hour (past one) did he not conceive it to be his indispensable duty.—The Address should not only promise his Majesty support, but reprobate the unprovoked aggression of France; for no reasonable man could read the papers before the House, and presume to tell the country that proper satisfaction

had been given for that aggression.

The Decree of November 19, he observed, was justly called a decree of universal hostility—so far from explanation or satisfaction being given in it, there was a subsequent Decree to execute it, with a disgusting, insulting menace, giving only fifteen days to adopt the plan laid out for them by the French, under penalty of being treated as enemies.

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As to the Scheldt, they had taken upon them to fettle it upon the rights of nature, contrary to the rights of treaties, and infolently put off the question on it to the time of consolidation of French liberty in Belgia, a period entirely dependant on their own pleasure.

The amendment of Mr. Fox was then negatived, and the Ad-

dress, as moved by Mr. Pitt, carried without a division.

FEBRUARY 13.

Sir ROBERT LAWLEY presented a petition on behalf of several of the inhabitants of the Hundred of Hanlingford, stating, that actions at law had taken place, in which the sufferers, from the late riots in Birmingham were plaintiffs, and the inhabitants of the hundred were the defendants. The plaintiffs recovered damages to the amount of near 30,000l.

The petition prayed that leave be given to bring in a bill to impower the petitioners to raise that sum by way of loan, payable by instalments, with interest, and afterwards to charge it on the inhabitants of the hundred. On the question for bringing

up the petition,

Mr. FOX observed, that he should not oppose the bringing up this petition, but he thought it his duty to fay, that he should oppose the whole principle of the bill, which this petition prayed for, as being contrary to the meaning and spirit of the statute which governed the law upon this subject. That statute meant that the penalty should be imposed only on those who neglected to prevent a riot, or do all they could to prevent it; these were the inhabitants of the hundred at the time the riot happened, and the prefent application went to the imposing a duty on the whole hundred at a future time. This was an endeavour to shift the burden from the shoulders of the guilty, and to lay it on the innocent. This was against the plainest principles of justice, and therefore he should always oppose it.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER acknowledged the justice of the observations of the Right Honourable Gentleman upon the meaning of the statute, as far as it applied to the present case, and entertained some doubt whether the hardthip of the present case would not eall for a particular and calm

attention, independent of the politive clause of the statute.

The petition was brought up.

FEBRUARY 14.

This day the House presented their Address to his Majesty; of which the following is a copy:

"The humble Address of the House of Commons to the

King. Most gracious Sovereign, "We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our most humble thanks for your Majesty's most gracious message, informing us, that the Assembly now exercifing the power of government in France, have, without previous notice, directed acts of hostility to be committed against the persons and property of your Majesty's subjects, in breach of the law of nations, and of the most positive stipulations of treaty; and have fince, on the most groundless pretences, actually declared war against your Majesty and the United Provinces.

"Under the circumstances of this wanton and unprovoked aggression, we gratefully acknowledge your Majesty's care and vigilance in taking the necessary steps for maintaining the honour of your Crown, and vindicating the rights of your people: your Majesty may rely on the firm and effectual support of the Reprefentatives of a brave and loyal people, in the profecution of a just and necessary war; and in endeavouring, under the bleffing of Providence, to oppose an effectual barrier to the further progress of a fystem which strikes at the security and peace of all independent nations, and is purfued in defiance of every principle of moderation, good faith, humanity, and justice.

In a cause of such general concern, it affords us great satisfaction to learn that your Majesty has every reason to hope for the cordial co-operation of those powers, who are united with your Majesty by the ties of alliance, or who feel an interest in preventing the extension of anarchy and confusion, and in con-

tributing to the fecurity and tranquillity of Europe.

"We are persuaded, that whatever your Majesty's faithful fubjects consider as most dear and sacred, the stability of our happy Constitution, the security and honour of your Majesty's Crown, and the preservation of our laws, our liberty, and our religion, are all involved in the iffue of the prefent contest; and our zeal and exertion shall be proportioned to the importance of the conjuncture, and to the magnitude and value of the objects for which we have to contend.

His MAJESTY's Answer.

" CENTLEMEN,

"I return you my warmest thanks for this affectionate and loyal Address, and for the cordial affurances of your firm and effectual support in the measures which may be necessary for maintaining the honour of my Crown, and for profecuting with vigour a just and necessary war, in defence of the dearest interests of my people." The

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nd or th The following Statements of the Public Accompts were laid upon the Table for the examination of Members preparatory to the opening of the Budget.

An Account of the INCOME and CHARGES upon the CON-SOLIDATED FUND, in the Quarter ended the 5th day of January, 1793; together with the surplus remaining for the Disposition of Parliament.

INCOME.

Confolidated duties of Excise -				5.	4.
Do, of Customs			961981		8
Do. of Stamps		54.5	289020		
Do. of Salt			100458	2	250 700
Do. of Letter Money			89000	0	0
Tax on Hackney Coaches and Chairs			9700		0
Do. on Hawkers and Pedlars -			400		300
Do. on Houses and Windows, 1766			137155		01
Do. on Inhabited Houses, 1779			61910	5	73
Do. on Horses -			51382	9	1
Do. on Male Servants -			45532	10	1.
Arrears of Female Servants		•	8322	9	10
Tax on Four-wheel Carriages	•		67433	3	3
Do. on Two-wheel do.			- 16488		31
Arrears of the Tax on Waggons			1714	0	5
Do. on Carts -	•		2052	6	71
Tax of 1s. per lib. on falaries. &c. An	mo 175	8	12834	12	OL
Do. of 6d. per lib. on do. Anno 1721		•	13290	0	•
Seizures of uncustomed and prohibited	i goods		7393	10	I
Sheriffs Proffers -			- 25	7	9
Rent of Alum Mines			480	0	0
Compositions by the Bank of England	i, in lie	u of a			
Stamp Duty on Bills and Notes iffue	d by t	hem	6000	0	0
Stamp Duties on Bills of Exchange,	Keceipi	s, &c.			
pursuant to an act 31 Geo. III.	h	-6.1	32150	9	0
Referved on the 10th Oct. 1792, for t	for al	or the			
Public, in respect of the Annuities minees appointed by the Lords C	ommié	E 140-			
of His Majesty's Treasury, pursua	nt to	an an			
30 Geo. III.		an au	- 12270		.1
30 George Control of the Control of	1.	s. d.	- 12277	10	43
Arrears of the 53d 4s. Aid, Anno					
1789		0 0			
Do. 54th 4s. Aid, Anno 1790		15 11			
	3-11		11554	15	11
Imprest Money repaid by James and)) T	٠,	
John Meyrick, Esqrs. arising from					
the Sale of Commissions in several					
regiments, vacated by the promotion					
of Officers	799	7 6			
3 M					Do.

458 PARLIAMENTARY	Con	IMO	NS.
Do. by Kender Mason, Esq. on his account, as Contractor in East f. s. d. Florida 1000 0 0 Do. by Archibald Robertson, Deputy Quarter Master at New York 186 13 4	£.		
Money paid by Charles Long, Esq. for interest upon 187 000l. for annuities granted by act of Parlia- ment, 29th Geo. III.	4026		4
Total Income of the Confolidated Fund in the quarter, ended 5th Jan. 1793 - 38	39348	16	61
CHARGE.			
EXCHEQUER,	r.	J.	1
Annuities, 2th Excise for two and three lives, for	r.		
three months, due 5th January, 1793 1. 3700 per week Excise, with the salaries to the Officers of the Receipt of His Majesty's Exchequer, for three	2048	18	.0
months, due ditto	7957	11	8
1706 with do	6181	2	101
1707 with do	2038		61
per 1ft act 1708, with do.	1229		134
2d act 1708, with do.	2649		34
Annuities on Lives, An, 1745, for 6 months, due do. 1746, for do, due do.	6159		6
1740, for do, due do.	11233	5	6
1757, for do. due do.	1384		6
1779, for do. due do	2587		32
SOUTH-SEA COMPANY.	6		,-
		27.5	
Annuity and Management on 24,065,084l. 138, 111. their prefent capital, for one quarter, due 5th January, 1793	83993	12	-1
Annuity and Management on 1,919,600l. for half a year, due the same time, after abating the sum of 106l. 17s. 6d. for the half of 213l. 15s. after the rate of 562l 10s. per million on the principal sum of 380,000l. purchased by the Commissioners ap-	93972	••	34
pointed for the Reduction of the National Debt, before 5th July, 1792	29227	•	3
EAST-INDIA COMPANY,			
On their capital of 3200000l. at 3l. per cent. per			
ann. for three months, due 5th Jan. 1793	24000	0	0
Do 10000000l. at do. lent anno 1744	7500	0	0
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BANK OF ENGLAND.

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Annuity and Management on 1073996961. 5s. 14d.	~		
3 per cent. consolidated annuities, for half a year,			
due 5th Jan. 1793, after abating the sum of 7061.			
10s. for the half of 1413l. after the rate of 450l.			
per million on the principal fum of 3140000l.			
purchased by the Commissioners appointed for the			
Reduction of the National Debt, before 5th of			
T.1			
July, 1792	1634453	17	0
Annuity and Management on 178699931. 9s. 1cd.			
after the rate of 51. per cent. per annum, for half			
	450770	11	81
Annuity and Management on 1000000l. after the	4)-11-		
rate of 31. per cent. per ann. for half a year, due			
5th January 1793	15225	0	•
Annuities granted by the acts of the 4th and 5th			
of King William and Queen Mary, and charged			
upon the 9d. per barrel Excise, commonly called			
14l. per cents. which ceased upon the 5th Fe-			
bruary 1792, and is to be placed to the account			
of the Commissioners arrained for the reduction			
of the Commissioners appointed for the reduction			
of the National Debt, for three months, due do.	12128	15	72
Annuities granted by the acts of the 5th and 6th			
of the same reign, for 96 years (commonly			
called Tonnage), which ceased on the 5th day			
of February 1792, and is to be placed to the ac-			*
count of the Commissioners aforesaid, for three			
그 사람이 가는 어디에 생각하게 하는 살이면 어떻게 되었다. 그 사람들은 사람들이 되었다면 살아 있는 것이 되었다. 그는 사람들이 살아 있는 것이 되었다. 그는 사람들이 없는 것이 없는 것이다.		0	0
months, due do.	1591		0
Bank of England, on their capital of 3200000l.			
after the rate of 31. per cent. per ann. for one			
quarter due 12th November 1792 -	25000	0	0
Do. on 4000000l. purchased of the South-Sea Com-			
pany, for three months, due 5th January 1793	30474	10	101
Do. on 500000l. at 31. per cent. per ann. for do.	3750		
Do on second of the forde			
Do. on 1250000l. at do. for do.	9375	0	
Do. on 1750000l. at do. for do	13125	0	0
Do. on 986800l. at do. for do	7401	0	•
To the Chief Cashier of the Bank of England, to			
reimburse so much paid for fees of various na-			
tures paid at the Treasury, Exchequer, and			
other offices, in relation to the accounts of the			
	896	16	6
several Bank annuities, to the 5th July, 1791	990		•
MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.			E 10 -
To the Judges of England and Wales, on their			
feveral additional allowances, for three months,			
	3262		
due 5th January, 1793	3202		
To Charles Bembridge, Efq. late Secretary and			
Accountant in the Office for managing the for-			
mer duties on Wine Licences, for do.	32	10	0
2 M 2			Te

460	PARLIAMENTARY	Con	AMO	NS,
	ya dine nye ya palawa	L.	J.	d.
To him m	ore, as late Messenger to the above office,		•	0
	as, late Office Keeper to the above office,	142 - hab		
	fficers in the Exchequer Bill Office, on	of each gar	•	
	aries, for do. upport of His Majesty's Household, for	162	10	0
do. To His R	oyal Highness Frederick Duke of York	224500	٥	0
and All To Her R	oany, on his annuity of 14000l. for dooyal Highness Frederica Ulrique Cathe-	3500	•	0
	uchess of York and Albany, on her an-	1000	0	
To His R	oyal Highness William Henry Duke of			
To His I	e, on his annuity of 12000l. for do. Royal Highness William Henry Duke of	3000	0	0
	fter, on do. 8000l. for do.	2000		0
To do. on	do. 9000l. for do. Representatives of Arthur Onslow, Esq.	2250	0	0
on do.	3000l. for do	750	0	0
To the Ea	irl of Chatham, on do. 4000l. for do.	1000	0	0
To Lord I	Rodney, on do. 2000l. for do.	500	0	0
	Heathfield, on do, 1500l. for do. Sondes, late one of the Auditors of the	375	0	•
	, on do. 7000l. for do.	1750	0	0
To Lord	Bute, another, on do. 7000l. for do.	1750		
To Philip	Deare, Esq. on do. 300l. for do	75		-
To John	Wigglesworth, Esq. on do. 300l. for do.	75	0	0
	es Harris, Efy. on do. 2001. for do.	50	0	0
ditor Gent cipal	three Gentlemen were the Clerks of the s. When the new Auditors' Office was form lemen were not employed; but thus paid, s, without employment. The new Auditors illiam Musgrave, Bart. one of the Com-	ned, the	e th	ree
missione	ers for auditing the Public Accounts, on			
	ol. for do. Thomas Batt, Esq. another, on do. 1000l.	250	0	•
	Martin Leake, Efq. another, on do.	250		0
	ohn Dick, Bart. another, on do. 500l.	250	0	0
	m Molleson, Esq. another, on do. 500l.	125	0	0
for do.		125	.0	0
of Berk	Penn, Esq. of Stoke Pogis, in the county s, one of the heirs of the late William	arisas Model Ko		
To John H	fiq. on do. 3000l. for do.	750		٥
do, 100	ol. for do.	250	0	0
C.			7	07

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1793		. 21.3	10	UR	N	AL
To Lady	Dorche	fter. G	uv C	arleto	m. :	and '

To Lady Dorchester, Guy Carleton, and Thomas Carleton, Esqrs, on their annuity of 1000l. for do. For Clerks' contingencies in the Office for auditing the Public Accounts, for do.

To Robert Hepburn, junior, Esq. Master of his Majesty's Mint in Scotland

To George Earl of Leicester, Master of his Majesty's Mint in England, for three months, due 5th Jan.

To John Reeves, Esq. on account of the deficiency of the fees, granted by an act 32 Geo. III. for the more effectual administration of the Office of a Justice of the Peace in such parts of the counties of Middlesex and Surrey as lie in or near the metropolis, &c. to defray the charges and expences attending the execution of the said act

To the Usher of the Exchequer for necessaries for the quarter ended

5 July 1792 - 514 8 4

Do. 10 October 1792 - 499 12 5½ J
To the Right Hon. Henry Addington, Speaker of
the House of Commons, the sum of 10991. 9s. to
complete the sum of 15001. for the quarter ended
25 December 1792, on 60001. per ann. the sum
of 4001. 11s. having been received net at the Exchequer, on the allowance of 51. a day, out of the
Civil List; and also the further sum of 801. to
reimburse the like sum paid for two years taxes
on offices and pensions, for the perquisites of his
office, to Michaelmas 1792; making together
the sum of

1179 9 0

461

1500

1200

3450

3291 11

Total charge upon the Confolidated Fund, in the quarter ended 5th January 1793 2764593 3 51

To the Commissioners appointed by Parliament for reduced the National Debt

National Debt - 250000 o
To complete the fum of 2300000l.

granted by Parliament out of the Confolidated Fund, for the fervice of the year 1792 - 389059 11

Surplus remaining upon 5th January 1793, for the disposition of Parliament

435696 I 71

Total furplus of the quarter ended 5th January 1793

1074755 13 0

£. 3839348 16. 64. JAMES FISHER. An ACCOMPT of the Total Produce of the Duties of CUSTOMS. EXCISE, STAMPS, and INCIDENTS, respectively, for one year, ended the 10th of October 1792; distinguishing (as far as possible) in each branch, the produce on every separate Article, the Duties on which have amounted to ONE THOUSAND POUNDS, or more, in the Four Quarters of the said Year.

The total produce of the duties of Customs for one year, ended the 10th day of October 1792 Do. of the Excise for one year, ended do. (ex-4,136,999 15 clusive of 621,700l. the produce of the annual malt duties) as per accompt (B.) 7,838,703 15 8I Do. of the Stamp Duties for one year, ended do. 1,445,447 Do. of Incidents at the receipt of the Exchequer, for one year, ended do, as per accompt (D) 2,102,219 19 101

15,523,370 18 31

Mem.—In this accompt are included fundry articles which are casual revenues, or taxes granted for a limited time, and therefore not a part of the permanent revenues, viz.

The duty on fugar, granted An. 1791, part of 41369991. 158. 43d. the produce of the Duties of customs

The Duty on British spirits, anno 1791, part of 78387031, 158. 84d. the pro-

duce of the duties of Excise 114307

Do. on foreign spirits, A. 1791, other part of do. 146737

Do. on malt, A. 1791, repealed by an act 32 Geo. 3, other part of do. 124033

In the sum of 14454471. 7s. 4d. the produce of the stamp duties, are included the amount of the taxes on bills of exchange and receipts, mak-

ing together 205253 12 But by a clause in the act for granting these duties, there is directed to be applied out of their produce to the confolidated fund, until the Exchequer bills issued pursuant to an act 31 Geo. 3. are cancelled, the annual fum of

The additional tax on game licences

76653 12 19833 16 7

128600

C

CICCC

150712

385077

In the fum	of 21022	191.	198.	10}d.	is
included on affeste	the duty	of 1	ol.	per ce	nt.
chequer		Puic		-	-

85956	2	31
718232	14	84
69028	19	of
787261	13	81

And also the imprest and other monies, other part of the said sum

Presented, pursuant to an act of the 27th year of his present Majesty's reign, the 31st day of December 1792, by

GEORGE ROSE.

An ACCOUNT of the Total Net Produce, paid into the Exchequer, of the Duties of Customs in England and Scotland; distinguishing (as far as is possible) the produce on every separate Article, the Duties on which shall have amounted to One Thousand Pounds, or more, in the Four Quarters next preceding the 10th October, 1792.

SPECIES OF GOODS.

N	et Produce, subject	Net Produce, subject				
	the Payment of	to the Payment o				
Be	ounties, and Charges	Bounties, and Charges				
	Management.	of Management.				
	£. s. d.	£. s. 2				
Afhes, pearl	1070 19 2	Drugs, Juniper Berries 4958 19 12				
— pot	1055 6 31					
Barilla	29723 17 7	Lead, Black 428 3 5 Manna 490 13 6				
Beads, coral	164 7 61	Oil, perfumed 1456 4 9				
Books, bound	1148 11 114	Turpentine 94 1 11				
Bottles, glass	1758 2 1	Opium 1677 9 8				
Brimftone	4666 13 114	- Quickfilver 2968 7 11				
Briftles, undreft	5529 10 8	- Radix, Ipecacuana 201 12 104				
Bugle, great	1232 16 34	Saccarum Saturni 2622 11 101				
Callicoes	95773 9 84	Sarfaparilla 2049 3 61				
Capers	380 5 3	Senna 76 8 73				
Carpets, Turkey	835 7 6	Succus Liquoritia 6174 0 6				
China ware	18519 17 103	Tamarinds 702 12 11				
Copper, unwrought	1794 15 4	Verdigrease 2126 16 11				
Cork	5483 8 9	Dye Stuffs, Smalts 9962 19 104				
Corn, Oats	12904 10 5	Elephants Teeth 2495 II 3				
Wheat	376 3 5¥	Feathers for Beds 10875 0 94				
Drugs. Aloes Cicotrina	592 14 114	Fish, Anchovies . 977 12 72				
Balfam Capaiva	176 13 11	Oyfters 2908 9 0				
Borax refined	528 6 10	Fruit, Lemons and Oranges 10888 1 24				
Caffia Lignea	97 19 3	Nuts, fmall 2868 11 8				
Cortex Peru	4585 6 31	Glass Plates 8247 11 92				
- Cream of Tart	ar 1170 7 44	Glue 590 10 21				
Gum Copal	1388 15 111	Grocery, Almonds, Jordan 3198 3 04				
— Guiaci	241 11 0	not Jordan 1912 17 10				
- Senegal	3346 17 11	Annifeeds 1968 3 10				
- Jalap	783 8 0	Cinpamon . 628 13 0				
		Grocery				
	AND ASSESSED ASSESSED FOR THE RESIDENCE OF THE PARTY OF T					

	£		d.	Tree are in the same and the	£.	3.	d.
Grocery, Cloves		4 45	01	Salt	2568	17	91
Cocoa		0 17		Salt Petre	6749		32
Coffee	2060	3 16	114	Seeds, Clover	5147	3	114
Currants	6129			Silks, Italian and Turke			
— Figs		9 13		raw	57206	10 mg 20 mg	0
Ginger		0 11	7\$	Bengal, Raw	57410		5
Maec	To Children	9 11	4	China, Raw Italian, Thrown	30128		2
Mace Nutmegs Pepper	194		6	- Italian, Thrown Wro.	152831	K.500 -	2
Pimento	1685	Charles and the second		Skins, Bear, Black	838		6
Prunes			3	Beaver	1023		
Raifins, Denia	2038		3	- Calf, Undreft	2889		71
- Faro		8 2	94	— Tanned	6540		
Faro Lexia	1246		11	- Deer, in Hair	3381		8
Lipari	286	3 7	74	Fox. Ordinary	914		11
Lipari Smyrns	268	7- 19	14	- Goat, Tanned Kid, Dreft	2091	2000	8
Solis	20212	1 1	101	- Kid, Dreft	1136	19	0
Rice	843	5 1	54	- Indreft	4217	0	81
Sago	1415		94	Martin	2937	3	8
Succads		14	3.	- Martin - Mink - Mulquash - Otter	549		41
Sugar, brown			Value of the last	Mulquath	397 863	3	22
	118621	THE PERSON NAMED IN	0	Otter Raccoon		200	34
Turmerick		74 11	8	-— Seal	391		81
Hair, Horfe	1290		6	Wolf	1377		
TT CL:-	841		100000	Snuff	856		6
Straw	3034	12	5	Soap, Hard	477	0.672	81
Hemp, rough	103833	0	74	Spirits, Brandy-Cufton		•	*
Hides, Indian			21	only	49647	4	IoI
Loth			8	Geneva do.	23890		61
- Ox or Cow	4518	5 1	0	Rum do.	46958		4
Incle, wrought		II	64	Stones, Blocks of Marble	1670	0	5
	349556		ᅄ	Tapes, Open	306	10	84
Cask	1789		44	Tar	6043		
Kelp	1892		6 1	Thread, Sifters	1855	5	14
	10441	W15 20 50 1	all the state of	Tobacco-Cuftoms only			9
Canvas Heffens			2.	Tow Turpentine	14662		5\$
Damaik Tabling, Si		Contract of the second	94	Wax, Bees	4275	1000 CT W	24
- Diaper Napkining,		SCALLEY NO. W.	94	Wine, Canary, Cuftoms or			1
- Germany, Narrow			'	- French do.	32826		2
not above 314	2962	1 15	43	- Madeira do.	28342		
Lawns, French	2228	0	0	Port do.	467309		5
Ruffia, Broad, above				Kneniin do.	3770		11
221	20089	6	34	Spanish do.	84120	20-22-1-14	6
above 30	£ 1316	6	5	Wood, Balks	1263		5
above 30	860	1 18 :	24	Battens	12963	3	24
Drilling	4042		1	— Deals	129986	3	
Narrow Towelling and	0534	4 5	,	Deal Ends	4044		of
Napkining and	2100		1	Mafts	3726	1000	5
Mats, Ruffia	4250		4	Oak Plank	3327		4±
Melaffes	2365	6	3	Paling Boards	1200	4	31
	18786	4 5	1	Scaleboards	747		81
Oil, Ordinary	14314		il.	Staves	7682		91
Sallad	4300	16 5		Timber, Fir	83793		ół
Paper, Foolscap, Genoa, Se	•	THE REAL PROPERTY.		Oak	662	14	41
cond	993	8 9		Ufers W	3257	16	17
Pictures	3397	0 0		Wainscot Boards	1257		81
Pitch	581	9 1	#	Logs	1646		
						Yai	n,

			•
Yarn, Cotton	389		d. 6
Mohair	1300		9
Allum	3268	12	21
Coals exported to Foreign			
Parts 11	1064	4	1
Lead	7348	2	2
Tin	5685	13	6
Subfidy on fundry fmall			
Articles	3445	19	34
Coals Coastwife 58	0036	19	81

Duties on Windows,	£. s. d
24 Geo. III.	220024 10 0
Sundry (mall Articles also (mall balances	
maining in the har of different Collecte	
in the different Po	rts .
of Great Britain	196923 15 10
	5248361 1 1

DISCHARGE.

	Bounties	648103			
I	프레이트 현대 그는 사람이 하고 있다면 회사가 전시되는 사람이 되었다면 하고 있다면 그렇게 되었다면 그렇게 되었다면 그렇게 되었다면 그렇게 되었다면 하는데 하는데 없다면 하는데 그렇게 되었다.	4136999			
	applicable to his Majesty's Civil Government	78545	8	2	
		5248361	1	7	

Note—In the above Payments into the Exchequer, amounting to 4136999l. 15s. 4½d. is included a Sum of 150712l. 3s. 4½d. which is applicable to the special Purpose directed by the Act of the 31st of his Majesty.

THOMAS IRVING,

Inspector General of the Imports and Exports of Great Britain and the British Colonies.

EXCISE.—An ACCOUNT of the Total Net Produce, paid into the Exchequer, of the Duties of EXCISE in England and Scotland; dif. 5, tinguishing (as far as possible) the Produce on every separate Article, the Duties on which shall have amounted to One Thousand Pounds or more, in the Four Quarters next preceding the 10th of October, 1792.

		First Quarter, from 10 Oct. 179 to 5 Jan. 1792.	Sec	ond Qua	179 792.	Third Qu from 5 Ap to July 5	arter, 1792.	Four from to 10	S. Jely	1792 792.	Total Ned duce of Four Qua	Pro.
Auctions -	•	0 17871	0	61691	0	20252	0	7	6694	0	79241	0
Beer	•	365979 0	0	96494		768953	•	0 48	0947	0	2012373	0
Bricks and Tiles	•	64621 0	0	11072	0	3409	•	7	2196	0	118714	0
Candles	•	0 40685	0	16654	0	88669	•	0	3219	0	268768	0
Coaches built for fale	•	649 0	0	150	0	428	0	0	970	0	2197	0
Cocoa Nuts and Coffee	•	0 16/21	0	7544	0	7430	0	0	5643	0	38408	0
Cyder, Perry, and Verjuice .	•	4392 0	0	1207	0	5843	•	0	2154	0	23596	0
Glafs	•	32133 0	0	41197	0	32703	•	0	1001	0	143040	0
Hides, Skins, Vellum, and Parchment	•	53394 0	0	63543	0	52480	•	0	64043	0	233960	0 0
Hops .	•	П				82776	0	0			82776	0
Malt, perpetual duty -	•	147187 0	0	1		97067	•	96	1864	0	612235	0
Metheglin, or Mead and Vinegar	•	\$420 0	0	1998	0	2657	0	0	2875	0	22950	
Paper	•		0	17799	0	14145	0	0	8446	0	50889	
Printed Goods	•		0	61121	0	28650	0	9	\$200	0	201982	0
Soap	•		0	77633	0	28195	0	6 0	8605	0	350264	0
Snirite British	•	0 128821	0	13628	0	926622 0	0	9 0	2406	0	644104	0
Foreign .	•	187013 0	0	95698	0	149737	0	71 0	1944	0	704392	0
Starch	•	27941 0	0	26004	0	25297	0	0	9915	0	104402	0

17	93			7	101	UR:	N.	A L.	grad.		46
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13488	462248 1	313241	373962	2280	¥	44695	100794	8625	142737	1,07203	08114403
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0	٥	•	•	0	•	0	0 0	0	000	00	0
4896	\$1096	82587	128886	577	5186	6311	3408	2832	8375 36412 80824	1921422 298324	2219746
0	#	0	0	0	•	0	0 0	0	00	80	**
•	15	•	0	•	•	•	0 0	0	001	20	2.
6258	170760	77545	77220	801	2486	2990	2115	1892	40948	2084188	2250522
0	C	•	•	0	•	0	0 0	0	00	100	
0	0	•	0	0	0	0	0 0	0	001	00	°
1889	80558	74637	61631	Soi	2395	5039	1822	1716	42927	1590995	1597053
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	o 0	0	000	1 0	0
0	0	0	0	•	0	•	0 0	0	000	00	0
24	159834	78472	106225	401	3345	30355	148952	2185	19057 37031 37209	1910598	2047092
Sweets		Tobacco and Snuff, commenced 11th Oct. 1789 Verjuice is with Cyder and Perry.	Vinegar is with Metheglin.	Wire	Licences to Auctioneers is with Auctions. Coachmakers is with Coaches. Dealers in Coffee, Chocolate, and Tea Makers and Sellers of Wax and Spermaceti Candles is with Candles.	able Commodities	Retailers of Wine	Sellers of Gold and Silver Plate Manufacturers and Dealers in To-	bacco and Snuff is with Tobacco and Snuff. Duties com- Spirits & British menced 5th Malt Jan. 1791.	Total of Duties, except Malt annual Annual Malt, Mum, Cyder, and Perry -	Total of England .

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THE WAY

(19)

An Account of the Duties of EXCISE paid into the Exchequer, by the Commissioners of Excise in England, in One Year, between the & Inth October, 1701, and 10th of October, 1702, on the Part of SCOTI, AND.

		First Quarter, from 10 Oct. 1791 to 5 Jan. 1792.	Second Qua	Third Quari from 5 Apr. 1 to 10 July 17	Control of the Contro	rer, Fourth Quarter 792 from 5 July 1793 92. to 10 Oct. 1792.	H "	duce of cour Quar	ters.	4
Auctions		1000 0	1	2000 0	10		10	000		10
Beer and Ale	1		0 0 0005 0	2000	0	0 0005		25000	0	0
Bricks and Tiles	1	0	0			1		3000	0	0
Cocoa Nuts and Coffee	' 	0	l -	3000		3000		8000	0	0
General Licences	1	1	2000 0 0	1000	_ 0	ı		3000	0	0
Glass	1	3000 0	3000 0 0	0 0607	0	2000 0	0	12000	0	0
Hides and Skins	1	1	1	1		2000 0	0	2000	•	0
Malt, perpetual Duty	1	0 00001	2 0000	4500 0	0	8000 0	0	00562	•	0
Laper -	1	2000 0 0	0 0 0001	0 9001	ó	0		9	0	0
Printed Goods	1	0 0 00091 -	21000 0 0		•			90008	0	•
Soap drog	' 		0	2000	0	0		000001	0	場
Spirits British			0	12900	0	0		12000	0	•
	1		2000 0 0		0	0	0	8000	0	0
Starch	•	•	2000	2000	0	0		8000		0
Tobacco and Snuff				2000	0	0		33000	•	0
Wine	1	0	8000	8000	0	•		0000	•	0
	1	1	1	200 0	0	1		200	•	0
Licences Plate	•	1	J		0	1		200	•	0
Copinitnous Liquor	1	 -	2000 0 0		6	1000 0	0	0009	0	

. Malt, perpetual Duty, commenced cth Jan. 1701

1500 0 001

1793-		¥ 33	J	<i>)</i> 0	KI	NA.	L,		
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6000 4000 3000	331500	346000 ,0							
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3000 0 0	82000 0	86000 0						4	
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2000	78200 0 0	78000 0 0	,						
0 0	00	0			24			0	## 8
00,	00	0						0	2
4500	87500	93000			7838703 15			621700	1 60403 1
	00	0	- ht	0		0	0		1
		0		•	1	•	0	1	
111	84000 0	89000 0 0	7507203 15	331500 0 0	1	902209	14500	ı	Total
1791	11	1	1	1	T	T	ī	' T	F
Malt, perpetual Duty, commenced 5th Jan. 1791 Foreign Spirits, additional British Spirits, do.	Total of Duties, except Malt annual Annual Malt, Mum, Cyder, and Perry	Total of Scotland	Perpetual England	Duties Scotland	Total of Perpetual Duties -	Malt England	Duties Scotland	Total of Malt Annual, &c	

JAMES WEBB, Accompt Gen. JAMES BROWNE, P. Comptr. An ACCOUNT of the Total Net Produce of the Duties arising from the STAMP REVENUE, that have amounted to 1000l or more, in the Four Quarters next preceding the 10th of October 1792.

	£.	١.	4.
Confolidated Duties -	748470		6
Infurance -	120653	15	8
Burials, &c.	4776	Charles Consul	
Hats	12184		4 3
Plate -	28967		
Post Horse Duty	195016	17	5 8
Medicine -	12738		7
Game -	46163		6
Attornies -	24882	7	
Pawnbrokers	4520	7	5
Glove	6231	7	11
Perfumery -	5858	10	6
Judges Duty	1373	13	10
Bills of Exchange	156587	7	8
Receipts -	48666	4	
Additional Game, 1791	19833	16	9
Apprentice Duty -	8521	5	9
	1445447	74	_
Mem.			
The Tax on Bills of Exchange,			
as above	156587		8
Do. —— on Receipts	48666	4	9
Of the Produce of these Taxes, the Average Produce of three	205253	12	5
Years is directed by an Act 31 Geo. 3. to be carried to the Confolidated Fund	128600	0	•
And the Remainder is applicable towards paying Principal and Interest of Exchequer Bills,			
iffued Anno 1791 -	76653	12	5

Stamp Office, Dec. 24th, 1792.

J. LLOYD, pro Compt.

An ACCOUNT of the Total Net Produce, paid into the Exchequer, of the Duties, under the head of INCIDENTS; distinguishing (as far as possible) in each branch, the produce on every separate article, the Duties on which shall have amounted to 1000l. or more, in the Four Quarters next preceding the 10th of October, 1792.

		L.	s.	d.
Confol. Salt, 1787		377232	4	3
Letter Money, per week		159000	0	•
Letter Money, 1760		227484		
Seizures, 1760 -		28522	0	11
Alienation Duty		2272		
Hawkers, 1710	•	3828		
Hackney Coaches, 1711 -		8400		
Ditto, 1784 -		10000		0
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Two-Wheel Ditto -		35733		5±
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Horfes -		123267	8	21
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Act of Parliament, 29th George the Third -	4026	16	11
Do. by Messrs. Meyrick, arising from the Sale of Commissions in several regiments, vacated by the			
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Do. by Messrs. Bishop and Brumell, do.	798	17	0
Do. by Alexander Adair, do.	1501	18	0
Do. by James Russell, do.	549	8	6
Do. by Meffrs Rofs and Ogilvie, do.	1713	18	0
Do. by Nathaniel Collyer, do.	549	8	6
Do. by Messrs. Lamb and Cock, do.	1101		
Do. by Meffrs. Coxe and Greenwood, do	13628	. 8	6
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Do. by Lieut. Col. George Clerk, late Barrack			
Master in North America	140	2	
Do. by Daniel Macnamara, Esq. agent to the exe-	-7~		7
cutors of Richard Rigby, Efq. late Paymaster			
of the Forces	16884		6
Imprest Money repaid by Peregrine Francis Tho-	10004	.,	U
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Money paid by Edward Roberts, Efq. for the Confol. Fund	1171	6	4
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Do. by Humphrey Donaldson, for do.	1799		
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Do. by Kender Mason, Esq. Exor. of Kender Ma- fon, on his Account, as Contractor in East Flo-			
rida	1000	0	0
Do. by William Brummell, Esq. Agent for the			
Out-Pensioners of Chelsea Hospital	3000	0	0
Do. by the Exors. of John Cowan, late Agent in			
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Exchequer, the 19th Day of Dec. 1792.

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